The school shape:

subject between object and author

Volume II

Memories in the shadow of a fig tree

The case of Voz do Operário da Ajuda

Pascal Paulus

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List of used acronyms

CEL: Coopérative de l'Enseignement Laïque

CEMEA: (or Ceméa) Centers d'Entrainement aux Méthodes d'Éducation Active

ICEM: Institut Coopératif de l'École Moderne (France)

FIMEM : Fédération Internationale de Mouvements de l'École Moderne

MEM: Portuguese Modern School Movement

VOA: Voz do Operário da Ajuda

To the team of A Voz do Operário da Ajuda
and
to my daughters Sara and Inês
my grandchildren Manel, Sebastião and Olívia
in memory of Clarisse Rosa

A school shape of social relations between subject-authors

The present book is the second of the two volumes of *The school shape: subject between object and author* based on the phd thesis in sociology of education that I presented in 2013 under the title *Another way of doing school: A Voz do Operário da Ajuda*[1].

In the first volume, I developed the hypothesis of a continuum of school shapes of social relations and its implication for the evolution from a grammar of schooling towards a comparative grammar of learning at school.

I did so based on the observation that, in order to study the school shape of social relations, three factors are decisive: power, knowledge and the pedagogical paradigm. I developed a case study looking at ten years of the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. This case study falsifies — in the *Popperian* sense of the term — the model of rather invariant school shape of learning, relegating to "alternative to school" shapes and social relations of learning different from the school shape of social relations with subject-objects having the pedagogical paradigm of instruction as a basis.

As I had the opportunity to argue in the first volume, at school, where the social relationship is 'pedagogised' there is a continuous variation in the shapes of this relationship, from one that is assumed to be hierarchical, either from top to bottom or from bottom to top, to one that presents itself as cooperative, horizontal and participatory. The school shape of social relationship can be read as a bond between subject-objects, a relationship with subject-actors, going as far as an interaction between subject-authors, including children.

Seen this way, 'families' or groups of school shapes of social relations with subject-objects, with subject-actors, or between subjects author of their production are designed, that is, a *continuum* of variants of the school shape.

The following pages picture the *Memories at the shadow of a fig tree* which originated the field work for the case study presented. After a brief description of the methodology used to approach the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, the story is told that emerges from the analysis of the memories, of a varied nature, of those who worked, as a child or adult, in Voz do Operário da Ajuda between 1982 and 1999, and the documentary collection that exists for the decade 1986-1995. It describes a singular project of "doing school" in the first cycle of portuguese basic education and analyses the pedagogical options that determine the relationship with power and the interaction with knowledge in the school shape that is designed.

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[1] Available in the repository of the University of Lisbon, at http://repositorio.ul.pt/handle / 10451/9692.

The image is created from out the memories of those who were there and saved productions and texts. It is a singular school shape, based on a specific pedagogical paradigm that was developed at the same time as the gradual implementation of compulsory schooled education has expanded over the last century.

I must remember here all those who, as children, were students of Voz do Operário da Ajuda. Without them this work would not exist. My deepest thanks to Catarina Bernardes, Catarina Gama, Catarina Morais Gama, David Gama, Filipa Quintino, Filipe Neves, Inês Ponte, Inês Quintino, Joana Pereira, João Cabrita, Mafalda Antunes, Mafalda Neuparth, Margarida Leão, Raquel Santos, Rodrigo Andrade , Rui Belchior, Sandra Brandão, Sara Carrapa, Tiago Dores, Tiago Patrício and Vasco Alves, who gave me their time, first, to evoke their memories, and, in many cases, later, to reread and give their opinion on the text presented. I extend this thanks to Julieta Lopes, Clarisse Rosa and Dora Agostinho, as well as to Margarida Faria and Ana Oliveira, teachers and educators at the *Escola da Ajuda* for their contributions, the former through testimonials and all through the informal conversations we have had, during which they gave me valuable complementary information. A hug for Eduardo Dores, former head of the parents' association, who helped bring together former students of the school, essential for the case study I present.

The discussion provoked aspires to be useful for the reflection of those who, being part of a schooled society, exercise the profession of teacher and student. In this discussion, the variations of the **school shape,** that is, the **school shapes of social relations**, which result from the relationship with power, the relationship with knowledge and the subsequent pedagogical paradigm, occupy a prominent place. It is in this context I suggest deepening the debate around a comparative grammar of learning at school, introducing a dialogue between school shape and organisation.

This dialogue around the school, and its specific form, proper to the function that is explicitly and implicitly attributed to it, contributes to the reflection in relation to a dynamic school shape, prepared to make the school evolve from a place of instruction from the past to a place of future-related learning.

I cultivate the hope that the work I now present can be a small retribution for the much I learned from the interlocutors I refer to here and the many others, with whom I came across and still do, and a humble contribution to the ongoing discussion among all those interested in to deepen the reflection around the school shape.

Carnaxide, 2014 and 2023

The case of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda

The field work that originated the reflection and suggestion of *a continuum of school shapes of social relations*, has as its object the **school shape** of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda. I identified a set of classes, from a certain period, as the empirical reality for this object of study. From 1977 onwards, the teachers Margarida Faria[1] and Lurdes Caldas, the educator Ana Oliveira and another teacher, all from the Movimento da Escola Moderna (MEM), took charge of these classes. Within the institution itself, a school work-project quickly emerged, singular in the Portuguese context, which, at the time, was only seen in some private or social solidarity schools and in some public education classes[2]. In 1982 the group was reinforced with Julieta Lopes and in 1984 with Clarisse Rosa, when two other teachers moved to other schools. One of them, Lurdes Caldas, would later return to work at the Ajuda school, replacing Julieta Lopes for two years when the latter participated in a local development project in Guinea. Clarisse Rosa returned to school in 1986, after a short period of unpaid leave. At that time, coming from Belgium, I was invited to become the institution's pedagogical supervisor. In 1988, Margarida Faria became an in-house trainer at Voz do Operário. In articulation with the pedagogical coordination she was asked to implement the pedagogical model of the Ajuda school throughout the institution, which she partially achieved after 15 years. In 1989, with the departure of Clarisse Rosa and Lurdes Caldas, I moved as a 1st cycle teacher to the school in Ajuda. A year later, Dora Agostinho started working at the same school. I left, in 1992, on unpaid leave, returning to the institution in 1995. I maintained a pedagogical intervention at the Ajuda school until 1999. In 2002, Julieta Lopes replaced Margarida Faria as in-house trainer. Dora Agostinho continues in the Voz do Operário of Ajuda.

During the period evoked here, which includes the reference period for the case study I present, some teachers still passed through the school, in most cases, without having the modern school movement or institutional pedagogy as a reference.

From the speech of a group of actors, I have a first sub-universe that I called *dynamic memories*.

From a set of written documents, photographs and video recordings, I have a second sub-universe that I define as *memories frozen in time*.

In order to make intelligible the information contained in this universe and arrive at

---

1 I only mention here the names of the teachers with whom I spoke personally in the scope of this study. I make an exception for Lurdes Caldas, who died in the meantime and with whom I worked for two years.

2 Since the publication of the magazine *Escola Moderna* in 1979, there have been regular practice reports from classes in Portuguese public or private schools. See also González (2002).

an interpretation of the variants in question of the school shape, as well as to understand if and how it contributes to the discussion around the redefinition of the school in the schooled society, the methodology had to suit the intended purpose, and be of an understanding nature.

I resort to the term *comprehensive methodology,* in the sense given by Guerra (2008, p. 7): methodologies that rely on Weberian frames of reference. The choice for a comprehensive methodology determined the selection of sources, the organisation of data and subsequent interpretation. Due to the volume of data worked on, it was possible to present some trends, eventually expressed as a percentage in relation to the universe. These data serve only to facilitate the reading of the information, and are therefore of local significance.

Following the proposal of Boavida and Amado (2008, p. 101), when they talk about the criteria of scientificity, in the phenomenological-interpretative paradigm, I look at four aspects: the value of truth, the applicability, the consistency and the neutrality.

The value of truth

The authors state that the problem of validity is above all a problem of validation. One of my options was to return the entire empirical chapter to the interviewees with a request for a critical comment on the text produced, in order to understand whether those who gave testimony recognise the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda in that same text. This is how I interpreted what is referred to as evidence with the study participants or subjects. This validation allowed me to understand the coherence of the interpretation I made of the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda.

The applicability

I sent the text to four people, knowledgeable about the analysed reality of the case study that I present to find out if they could confirm the image of the school shape that I produced, based on the analysis of testimonies and documents in the sense of perceiving the representativeness of the data when I speak of a sustainable school shape, different from the Lassallian school shape, since here the objective is to particularise.

The consistency

The collection of videos, photographs and documents produced by children and adults, as well as the choice of a non-structured interview technique, all scrupulously identified, is a first indicator of the consistency of the results that allow situating the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda and advance with the hypothesis that it is a coherent school shape variant, based on a precise pedagogical paradigm and a specific interpretation of the relation with power and knowledge in human society. With the categorisation of information, I only tried to make this more transparent.

The neutrality

Aware of the words of Rodrigues[3], more than through objectivity, it is through intersubjectivity and confirmation neutrality appears in the phenomenological-interpretative paradigm. The clear exposition of saturation on the one hand, and the internal diversity on the other, allows the balanced representation of the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda.

The empirical reality is shown through memories that describe it and that allow its interpretation, with the aim of understanding the variant of the school shape under study.

I found, in the collected memories, indications of the influence of the vision about power, of those who institute it, on the school shape that it configures, giving the possibility of thinking about the *continuum* suggested above.

The initial question ***To what extent is the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda a sustainable variation of the school shape of social relations?*** served as a guiding question.

Spoken and written memories

The collection of people's school memories was indispensable for the present study. However De Bruyne (1974, p. 211) recalls among many others it is of common acceptance for studies of this type, as it is in general, to seek to diversify as much as possible the sources of information.

In this specific situation, there was already a wide range of written testimonies, coming from the school's documentary collection and from my personal archive. There were also available products from the work of the different class groups that served as a basis for studying the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda.

Some visits to the school led to the gathering of photographs and documents filmed on video with the support of Dora Agostinho. This covers in one way or another all the classes of which I tried to produce an image.

For the underlaying case written and iconographic documents were available in addition to a set of testimonies collected for this purpose. Direct observation of that past was of course not possible, but I have my memory of observation-intervention, as a teacher in addition of that of a researcher. Thus, I used testimonials. These are not life stories in the broadest sense of the term, but a collection of a specific moment in the lives of a group of people. In other words, it is a set of information, which we can access, through comprehensive interviews where the subjects are the privileged informants, resorting to the words of Guerra. It is a kind of '*récits de la pratique*' that will constitute excerpts of partial

[3] Rodrigues (1992) *apud* Boavida & Amado, 2008, p. 111.

biographical elements to use the words of that researcher (2008, p. 18).
For the selection criteria of people whose school memories I wanted to fix, priority was given to who lived the Voz do Operário da Ajuda as a child in the chosen period of analysis in those classes where the responsible adults themselves, at the time as active members of the Modern School Movement. They could possibly simultaneously be linked to the institutional pedagogy current of the "*Genèse de la Coopé*" ICEM-group. It is therefore a non-probabilistic universe, in relation to the possible universe.
I tried to constitute a universe of memories, from different classes where a certain group of teachers was responsible for. I wanted to explore as much as possible what Guerra (2008, p. 41) identifies as internal diversity, when one chooses to constitute a specific group or a certain homogeneous situation to build the case study. Here, the internal diversity was assumed to be twofold: it provided for a diversity, evident in the memories, in the classes among themselves, and it provided for a diversity, among the memories confined to the same class.
Nevertheless it quickly became clear that for certain subjects related to the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* a saturation point was also reached, as I will show in the introduction to the next chapter.
The universe was thus constituted by two kinds of memories, distinct and complementary.
The first are spoken, dynamic memories. I collected them by interviewing protagonists of the time under study, whether children or adults, asking them to tell everything they remembered about the classes and the interactions in the classes in which they participated. They are dynamic for two reasons. On the one hand, these are testimonials, based on an interaction between interviewee and interviewer, who know each other and who in many situations shared the same spaces, intervening jointly in it. On the other hand, it *are* memories, so filters exist triggered by time. It was important here to register what marked the experience of the first school for the interlocutors, then children or adults.
The second kind of memories can be spoken or written but are moments frozen in time. These are documents produced by children and adults, which were integrated into the school library, work instruments, from my personal collection, children's workbooks of the time, as well as photographs and video recordings of various moments of work.

The limits of the study

Like any scientific process, an in-depth case study has its limits. In this case, I consider it important to leave the following notes:
(1) In order to situate the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, and in the face

of a very vast field, I chose, in some way, to limit the classes from which I was going to collect data, to constitute the universe. As I mentioned, the choice fell on the classes whose responsible adults were, at the time, active members of the MEM, or, possibly simultaneously, close to the aforementioned practical aspect of institutional pedagogy. It seemed more effective to me to gather information from classes where, from the outset, the memoirs illustrated the uniqueness of the school work carried out there.

(2) It was necessary to look for a matrix that visualised the interference of the interpretation of the exercise of power, not only for what it provokes in the relationship between people, but also in what it means for the collective and individual interaction with cognisance and with knowledge. The option of varying the school shape on a *continuum*, depending on the interpretation of power, the relationship to knowledge and the pedagogical paradigm, is a possible approach, which avoids comparisons between school shapes of social relations, and allows a better understanding of the conditions under which a singular way seems sustainable. It was useful to me in the case study and I therefore leave open the applicability of the hypothesis to the interpretation of other singular school shapes of social relations. In this study, however, I limit myself to the present context. It is possible to place the unique form of Voz do Operário da Ajuda in the *continuum* and to make explicit the relationship with knowledge and, ultimately, with the world, between a singular school shape and non-school shapes of socialisation and learning, showing its sustainability.

After having used, in previous texts, the intermediate cultural space of CEMEA (Paulus, 2006), I introduced the concept of interactive cultural space-time, to describe a school space that maintain its artificial character, deriving from the constitution of groups of people for an institutionalized process of organised learning in the Voz do Operário da Ajuda, and, therefore origins a school shape of social relations. But it also allows interaction with shapes of non-school social relations, due to the permeable border that this space-time presents.

However, I repeat, the work of learning at Voz do Operário da Ajuda is part of the work of learning through the school, which is why there is always reference to a school shape of social relations.

The use of the concept of interactive cultural space-time, in this specific case, suggested by the methodological choice itself, may not be immediately transferable to other variants of school shape, or to other forms of social relations, but it is probably reusable.

(3) Another study limitation, due to the nature of the investigation method, has to do with the use of the expressiveness of some phenomena. It is certain that the amount of information collected, and the diversification of sources, made it possible to fix the

internal diversity in some situations, and reach saturation in others. However, due to the explicitly non-probabilistic character of the construction of the universe,

> "in the name of the logical coherence of the inductive methods (...) it does not seem advisable to call the universes of qualitative analysis «samples», since this is a concept linked to a statistical representativeness and not to the social representativeness that is intended in this type of research. "
>
> (Guerra, 2008, p. 21).

Thus, all quantitative references, suggesting a trend or, on the contrary, a singularity, always remain within the strict limits of the constituted universe.

(4) In order to evaluate the possibility of carrying out this case study, some preliminary investigation was carried out to evaluate the existing material, referring to the chosen period. In a first phase, it was possible to identify 26 former students and five teachers from the class groups and the period under study. A previous inventory pointed to a few hundred photographs, close to two dozen video recordings, as well as albums with productions by children and adults, plus 375 documents from my personal arquive.

Here my position in the role of researcher is important. In a way, my direct involvement in the presented empirical reality makes me a participant observer. To the collected *memoirs*, my own *memoirs* are added, which I tried to limit to documents from my personal collection.

Firmino da Costa claims that even in our societies, where there is a great diversity of phenomena, the researcher may not know the context, let alone scientifically, making time consuming "*one of the aspects of field research that is the process of familiarising the researcher with the context society you intend to study*" (2007, p. 147). Personal involvement, not as a participant researcher, but as having belonged to the group for part of the investigated period, facilitated the work here, allowing, as stated by De Bruyne (1974, p.137), in some cases a more penetrating look, however obliging to reinforced epistemological care. It is in this sense that I participate, with the documents that I myself can introduce into the discussion, contextualising and clarifying.

(5) There are a few more issues in relation to my role as a researcher that, while not exactly being limitations, I consider important to mention.

As Amiguinho advises (2008, p. 220-238), personal involvement requires a clarification of my familiarity with the object under study. The reality of the school and the classroom is difficult for outsiders to grasp. Making to speak the actors directly involved, allows a more multifaceted image of this reality, but requires a good knowledge of the place and time from which the interlocutor is speaking. Much information about the relationship in the classroom is difficult to decode for anyone who has not, as an adult, gone through the pedagogical relationship that develops in

the context of a class. If this is true for the commonly known school shape of social relations, as it is the most widespread, the more complicated it becomes to interpret the information coming from school memories that reveal little-known aspects, by those who did not participate in a reality that enhances the school shape in study. It seems to me that my personal involvement with Voz do Operário da Ajuda, in various roles, gave me the experience, in the sense of living the school, to read the memories I was gathering.

Another difficulty arises here, related to the fact that all the interviewees were known. I found who was a child at the school where I was an adult with teacher duties and who was a co-worker. Faced with the intimate interaction between interviewee and interviewer, Guerra (2008, p. 21) states that the issues of affection arising from in-depth interviews should not be dramatised too much.

Once again, it is important to clarify that the interview with each of the interlocutors was restricted to the school memories of each of them. Here, in some situations, the affective-relational issue is placed more in the past than at the time of the interview, although it may have contributed, in some situations, to revive one or another situation and have conditioned the selection of information. Perhaps it is no coincidence that the interviewees Diogo Garcia remembers the teacher's guitar, which he let him play, or that Francisco Neto speaks of logical problem situations I took to his class (something that I myself did not remember). As a whole, it is clear that, while the guitar only has meaning for Diogo Garcia, the logical problems recur in memories, going beyond something that comes to mind for the simple fact that there is an affective relationship between interviewee and interviewer.

I tried, in my modest contribution, of describing and interpreting a unique school shape and its presumed sustainability, to develop an investigative attitude about the available material. Part of this material consists of photographs. Bogdan and Biklen (1994, p. 190) alert to the momentary nature of the photographic record, for which they consider that: "*they are not answers but tools to arrive at answers*". Here, the photographs support the argument and are complemented by materials produced by students and / or teachers, making a part of the story emerge.

The distance that is created allows us to go beyond the simple description due to the elaborate theoretical framework as well as the separation of the accidental and the essential (De Bruyne *et al.* 1974, p. 211-215). As stated by the same authors, the case study is what best reveals a real situation that is very open and uncontrollable from the outset.

Data collection and interpretation

Data collection and its first reading confirmed a hypothesis regarding the relation with

power in Voz do Operário da Ajuda and with regard to the relationship with cognisance and knowledge. The importance given to learning ways to exercise power and the relation with the world and with knowledge, made me go through some stages[4]. In this exploratory case study, I went through a phase of reformulating conceptual proposals, after having roughly defined a hypothetical framework for the phenomenon of school shape.

With the two angles, that of power and that of knowledge, always manifesting themselves in the background of the pedagogical paradigm, the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda seemed to present itself as a variation of a standard shape, the standard being the transmissive, banking, subject-object school shape. Sometimes it was as if it were the pedagogy of an alternative way of learning, returning to the connection between pedagogy and shape that Francomme (2010) suggests. I resumed and tried to deepen the image of intermediate cultural space, which I used (Paulus, 2006), more in a pedagogical than anthropological sense, suggesting an interactive cultural space-time. Reading Yves Reuter (2007) I equated the possibility of placing variations in school shape on a *continuum*, which immediately provides two advantages:

- It allows placing a variation, not in comparison with another, but in terms of the status of the subject, from school shapes characterised as social relations with subject-objects to school shapes of social relations between subject-authors.
- It allows placing and identifying the variants of the school shape without ordering or hierarchising between them. They exist by themselves, sustainable as long as they are consistent in their assumptions.

To introduce the main chapter *Genesis of a welcoming school* I leave here three notes. First, I explain the constitution of the universe. Then I characterise the instruments used for data collection and analysis and I end with some information to facilitate the reading of the chapter that follows.

Constitution of the universe

The non-probabilistic universe allowing to look at the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda consists of spoken and written memories of two types. On the one hand, we have people and their *memoirs* filtered through time and revived by the conversation with an interlocutor they know, now in the role of interviewer. On the other hand, there is a documentary collection, shaped at the time it was produced, consisting of albums and work materials of adults and children, photographs of work situations in

[4] Deslauriers (*apud* Guerra, 2008, p. 24) enunciates them among others in the context of the construction of inductive knowledge.

various contexts and video recordings. In a way, this material, for the simple fact that it is the one, and not another, filed at the school, constitutes a filter in itself, providing a specific look at the reality of the school.

People and their memories

The first group, which I called spoken and dynamic memories, consisted of twenty-four unstructured interviews based on a single entry question. All of them were fixed through the recording of a single conversation and subsequent full transcription. They took all place within a year span. All interviews were individual. Two of the interviews were carried out in a preparatory phase of the study, and subsequently included. The group of interviewees consists of two subgroups.

The first subgroup brings together the memories of twenty-one people aged between 22 and 32 years old at the time of recording, and who were children integrated into the classes that I used as an empirical field for the study of this unique school shape. The second subgroup consists of three recorded and transcribed memories of three people who were teaching at the school at the time. These were interviewed after finishing recording the memoirs of the first subgroup. My own memory also enters this subgroup, which, although not recorded or transcribed, ends up interfering in one or another contextualisation of situations described.

In the decade I used as a focus, there were a total of 13 class groups. The criterion of privileging the memories of classes under the responsibility of teachers expressly linked to the MEM and / or institutional pedagogy, highlights 7 class groups in which a total of one hundred and thirty-four children were enrolled as students. Among them, I located twenty-six managing to record the memories of twenty-one between January 2009 and August 2010. Contacts were made through appeals on the digital social network Facebook, an old phone book and a meeting of former students, organised by Eduardo Dores, member of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda parent association during the 2008-2009 end-of-year school festivities. The first contacts helped to find other people who were students at the school in that period.

Of the twelve adults who were in the school at the time, six met the criteria I set. Of these six, one person had already died at the time. A second served as support for validating the information, so she was not interviewed. Being part of this group myself, I introduced my personal assets in the documentation, not having the recording transcribed from my own memory. Of the other three people, the memory referring to the period under study in July 2011 was recorded and transcribed.

I place, in tables 1 and 2[5], in order of transcription, the memories that constitute this first part of the universe. Although no one objected to the use of their name, former students are referred by using a fictitious name. The teachers appear with their real names, since they are immediately identifiable in the context discussed.

Memories frozen in time

Memories frozen in time consist of four sets of documents.

A first set brings together documents from my personal estate and accompanies my own memoir of Voz do Operário da Ajuda. There are a total of 375 documents of various types, organised into the following large groups:

a) Collective and individual albums related to themes investigated by children;
b) School presentation brochure, produced by school children and teachers. It was held at a time when the school was in danger of being closed;
c) Individual and collective workbooks used in the writing and reading initiation process;
d) Logbooks of two classes in which all the decisions that were taken collectively as a result of organised discussions about life in the class are noted. These logbooks also include records of moments of "reading and showing", in which children present topics of their interest to the group;
e) Stories and books invented by children. It is a set of stories, written and drawn by children of different ages and from different classes;
f) Work regulation instruments. They are records and planning schemes, some collective, others individual. There are also photographs of records;
g) Budget dossier, documentation and organisation of an international meeting with a corresponding group;

A second group of documents comes from the library of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school and consists of 66 albums, which can be organised as follows:

a) Collective project work albums, produced by children and their teachers;
b) Albums of different classes related to the preparation, realisation and subsequent exploitation of camps and indoor camps;
c) Collections of texts gathered in a class newspaper or class textbook.

A third group of documents consists of 353 photographs that were stored in boxes and document holders in the teachers' room at Voz do Operário da Ajuda, labeled by school year. The oldest photographs found were from the 1986-1987 school year. Thematically speaking, we can consider four subgroups here:

a) Photos of the organisation of work and classes (pedagogical scenario);
b) Photographs of camps and indoor camps;

[5] Attached at the end of this book.

c) Photographs of individual workbooks;
d) Photographs of work situations;

A fourth group of memoirs consists of 23 documents recorded on VHS video during the period 1988 – 1997. Here we can consider to dispose of doubly filtered look: who filmed decided, on the spot, when to turn the camera on and when to turn it off. Who transcribed film to VHS support decided what to transfer and what to archive at school. The collected documents are:

a) Video recordings of the organisation, execution and collective treatment of camps/indoor camps;
b) Video recordings of work presentations to the community;
c) Video recordings of international inter-scholar correspondence;
d) A video recording by of a group of students from Teacher Education School of Lisbon to explain the pedagogical project of one of the VOA classes.

Table 1[6] summarises the memories associated with classes that (1) ended their presence in the period under review, (2) progressed at school in the same period or (3) started their course in that period.

Collection of information and organisation of data analysis

The universe of memories was built little by little. As photographs and video recordings appeared, it was possible to relate certain memorised work situations to some of the albums included in the personal or school document collection.
The documents that I classified as frozen memories suggested relevant learning work moments, moments that could be revived through an interview.

About the collection

The discovery of documents recorded in VHS format on cassette was at the same time the discovery that part of the material was completely spoiled due to mould, which acted as an unwanted filter. To facilitate the visualisation of films in good condition and to preserve them for a longer period of time, all the cassettes that were still readable were, as they were, re-recorded on DVD support, which were left for the school, after having made a disk copy of all the recordings of interest for the study.
The existing photographs at the school were organised in portfolios with transparent plastic. In most situations, they are 10 cm x 15 cm photographs. With the support of Dora Agostinho, I reviewed all the photographs kept in the lockers. I scanned the photographs into folders, by school year, as identified on the folders. Folder *VO8889* contains photographs from the school year 1988-1989 and so on.

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6 All referred tables are included at the end of this book.

The remaining documentary collection consists of a miscellany of artefacts: notes, notebooks, minutes of cooperation council meetings, frequently still with the name *assembly*[7], reports, dossiers, individual or collective productions — especially albums produced in groups, around themes treated by one class-group, by more than one class-group or by subgroups — class journals, explanations of combined rules, definitions of functions. Altogether there are 441 documents that were numbered and described.

As I gained a better understanding of the material available, I reactivated previous contacts. The collection of people's school memories was done, as already mentioned, through unstructured interviews, that is:

> "In this case, the interviewer encourages the subject to talk about an area of interest and then explores it further, returning to topics and themes that the respondent started. In this type of interview, the subject plays a crucial role in defining the content of the interview and conducting the study."
>
> (Bogdan and Biklen, 1994, p. 135).

It is essentially a question of collecting information available to the interviewee (Lessard-Hébert *et al.* , 2005). Each interview, lasting an average of forty minutes, was preceded by a conversation that easily lasted about half an hour. In most cases, the initial conversation served to find out news from former colleagues, parents or teachers who participated in camps, or even to talk about matters related to the interviewee's family. In this previous conversation, I always explained my interest in studying the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, justifying the importance of listening to what the interlocutor remembered from the years he spent at that school. For this purpose, I prepared a support text, in which the first contact is reported, and it is insisted that everything is important, including the "big" and the "small" stories. It is explained that it is about realising how experiences a group of people had at school were memorised by that group of people, in this case going through the Voz do Operário da Ajuda.

I insisted that it was about collecting memories, so I didn't have a concrete and predefined order of questions but just a small introduction to help focus on the school years in Voz do Operário and the school shape of social relations. I also made it clear that there was no definite order to evoke the memories, and that all subjects could be resumed during the conversation, at any time.

Due to having worked as a teacher with the other teachers interviewed, I decided to personalise the introduction to the interview for each of the three teachers interviewed.

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7 See page 175 , *"A Council Called an Assembly"* .

Data organisation

An initial review of the literature on the school shape of learning and on the pedagogical paradigm underlying work at Voz do Operário da Ajuda, as well as the definition of school shape by Vincent, Lahire and Thin (1994), allowed to conjecture about the organisation of the material into logical categories, one of which is related to the relation with power, another with the relation to knowledge, leaving a generic one for subjects of a pedagogical nature, entitled *school shape*.

A first approach to memories frozen in time seemed to authorise this pre-classification. The second reading of the material gave consistency to this proposal of organisation and allowed to give an orientation to the work.

To make the information intelligible, considering the volume of data, I visualised three comprehensive and complementary descriptions, one more focused on the pedagogical relationship in general, one more specifically on the relationship with power and one using the interaction with knowledge and the world as focus point.

The photographs served as a basis for understanding whether there was a chance of making a reading in three stages, giving rise to the three descriptions. In an initial phase of organising the material, I prepared, with approximately one-third of all the photographs, a table from which I reproduce a small excerpt in table 6, by way of example.

For the definitive cataloging, I analysed all the photographs again, but the last time according to the keywords that had since been stabilised, thus allowing, in the next phase, to associate them coherently with the other materials that support the universe constructed of memories.

At the same time, during the transcription of the first interviews, it was possible to identify some recurring milestones, giving consistency to the hypothesis that the relationship with power and the interaction with the school and non-school world obeyed a logic of its own in the studied universe, congruent with some of the documents, which had suggested that two categories of analysis should be respectively the relationship with power and the interaction with knowledge.

I opted for the full transcription of the interviews recorded with a voice recorder, as advised by Guerra (2008, p. 59). In fact, it facilitated the first interpretations. It allowed listing and comparing elements that emerge from the interviews, namely the order and frequency with which certain topics appear.

The transcribed interviews were returned to the interviewees for verification. At the same time people informed me if they authorised the use of their name or if they preferred to remain anonymous. The second reading of the interviews served to assign keywords, placing computer tags on the speech excerpts, as exemplified in table 2 .

After confronting the whole documentary collection with the same keywords, the set stabilised at one hundred and nineteen words. I recorded how the speech was

organised for each person interviewed, using keywords, globalising the information in tables such as table 7.
The video documents were analysed using the same keywords. There is a timeline for each document, fixing and identifying the excerpts, which gave rise to the table per document, as reproduced in table 8.
The rest of the documentary corpus, organised and described in a table (partly reproduced here in table 9), including the assigned classification number. With the number and the summary description as a basis, I then created a second table, in which I associated the stabilised keywords with each of the documents.
I compiled everything into a single database to understand the frequencies of information for each of the keywords and for each of the types of data that make up the universe of memories, identifying the keywords that emerge more transversally and the keywords more specific to a particular data type or even confined to a restricted set of data of a memory type. Thus, it allowed us to perceive the major trends present, as exemplified in table 10.

From emerging keywords to the organisation of writing

From the methodology, which Guerra (2008) identifies as a comprehensive methodology, and which Boavida and Amado (2008) inscribe in the phenomenological-interpretative paradigm, several authors observe the interaction between the work plan and the data analysis itself.
In general, and methodologically, says Firmino da Costa (2007), the relationship between theory and empirical work is always present. A logical (and chronological) path of research planning, collection and recording of information, proceeding with its analysis, is traced. However, the author continues:

> "It is equally true that the effective research process includes a permanent recursion of each of those components in relation to the others" (2007, p. 143).

The theory of the school shape proposed by Vincent, Lahire and Thin (1994) associated with the elements for a theory by Charlot (1997) about the relation-action to knowledge and the texts of several authors, among which I highlight Foucault ([1975] 2009), Freire (1970) and Lahire (2008) with regard to the relationship with power in the school context, served as the basis for preparing the case study plan on the singular school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda. Afterwards, it was also useful to have Trindade and Cosme's (2010) proposal for organising the pedagogical paradigms.
As I looked at the information and defined keywords, allowing data to be organised, I considered it consistent to maintain three main categories: ***the school shape*** (ie generic elements that relate to the pedagogical paradigm), ***the relationship with***

power and the ***relation to knowledge***. These three categories would allow us to look at the memories and perceive the consistency of the school shape that emerges. After having stabilised the set of keywords, it was possible to distribute them among these three categories, in sets that would later allow a guiding thread in the description of the school shape. Subcategories emerge from logical arrangement into sets. They facilitate the interpretation of reality, as it presents itself and starts to be described. Table 3 reproduces the categorisation, which gave direction to the chapter that follows.

The organisation of the data, in interaction with the organisation of the theoretical support, guided the structure of *Genesis of a welcoming school*.

I reserved, for the introduction of the next chapter, some general information regarding frequencies and trends that emerge from the analysis and that highlight what, in this universe of memories, converges and what diverges. This reading is carried out based on the analysis of the interviewees' speeches (as in table 2) and some comparative tables of frequency in all the material analysed and which gives rise to the universe of memories (as in table 10).

Following the advice of Guerra (2008), due to the volume of information, I used the keywords as a starting point for the categorisation that I later treated in running text. From there, I present an exhaustive devolution of dynamic memories, always intersecting with memories frozen in time.

Thus, Chapter 4 is divided into three subchapters, one for each category of analysis, each with a very simple structure, consisting of as many subdivisions as the categories have subcategories. The emerging text accompanies the information compiled and categorised for each of the subcategories at all times.

The space-time of the Voz do Operário de Ajuda is based on information that was left in the 'school shape' category.

The fig tree school derives from the subcategory 'school', *The learning of 'many with many'* from the subcategory 'method', *Innovative teaching means?* from the subcategory 'didactic means' and *More rituals that help* from the subcategory 'school rituals'.

Relations between people and with power is the text emerging from the constituted universe in everything that went into the category 'relationship with power'. *Team leaders* uses the subcategory 'power', *A council called assembly* from the subcategory 'regulation', *Relations between people* from the subcategory 'relations with people', *The relationship with power* from the subcategory 'relationship with power'.

Learners connect to knowledge describes, finally, the interaction with knowledge, how it appears in information. It has its origin in the category that I initially defined as 'relation with knowledge', using the official translation of Charlot's book (1997) *Du rapport au savoir*. However, as I have already mentioned, I prefer to use connection to

knowledge, or interaction with knowledge, to get closer to the term *rapport au*, which Charlot himself distinguishes from *relation au*.

Taking ownership over 'out there' working inside and outside refers to the information that was in the subcategory 'appropriation of the environment', *Studies and work projects to learn more* to the subcategory 'studies', *The social use from knowing how to read and write* to the subcategory 'writing and reading' and *The learner and the connection to knowledge* to the subcategory 'relationship with learning'.

The subchapters each have a final closing point inserted in chapter 4 of the first volume of this work. The information provided epitomises each of those three main subchapters, respectively in *Which singularity in the shape?, What authority to whom and for what?* and *The return of the learner*.

Finally, I recall that, as discussed in chapter 2 of *Contributions for a welcoming school* one of the important concepts that emerges everywhere regarding the regulation of work and the group, appears in the memoirs with the term *assembly*. As a rule, when I refer to the concept, I myself used the term *council*, as I understand that the testimonies present a practice of meeting in the council as designated, with slight nuances, both by institutional pedagogy and by the MEM. The overlapping of terms accompanies the internal discussion in this last movement, in the '80s and even at the turn of the '90s, as can be seen from two very similar organisational charts, published respectively in 1991 and 1992 (Annex 1).

The interpretation notes inserted at the end of each subchapter are resumed and deepened in *Hoping for a welcoming school* where the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, developed in the interactive cultural space-time that memories evoke will be located in the *continuum* of variants of the school shape of social relations, suggested in the first volume of this work.

Genesis of a welcoming school

I called *dynamic memory* the testimonies transcribed by the protagonists of the action, whether children or adults, and *memory frozen in time* the written documents, photographs and videos that evoke the period studied. The documentary corpus presents itself as a testimony of a relationship with knowledge and with power and produces an image of the pedagogical action that determines the way of doing school, while the testimonies, which retell memorised and therefore filtered stories, testify to experiences in the first person of this pedagogical action, observed from a distance.

In some situations, it was possible to establish correlations between the two types of memory, in relation to the school shape of the social relations of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, that is, there are frequent keywords for all types of memory. In other situations, more explicit distributions of information are observed for specific memories.

In every type of memory, the camps and studies promoted by the School's classes, associated with the outside activities, are always very present. The method and organisation of work are also frequently mentioned, as is the playground. The camps, which all 3rd and 4th grade classes organised and which from the mid-1990s onwards became for the whole school, appear in seventeen of the twenty-one discourses by those who were then children, which absolutely represents the highest frequency of a keyword for the set of testimonials. The individual and study group work in the field, based on leaving school and giving rise to albums, is the fourth most discussed subject, both by former students and former teachers and also occupies the fourth place in the set of films in video. The keyword “play-ground” ranks third most frequently for people and fifteenth for filmed material. The method and organisation of learning are among the fifteen most frequent keywords in the set of all testimonials. For those who were children in the analysed period, the keyword most often used is related to studies, although by two fewer people (fifteen in all) than in the case of the camps. Half of the population that was children focus on the work model and thirteen of these refer to the organisation of work. Among those who speak of the organisation of work, half simultaneously speak of methods used. It means that only three former students interviewed do not refer to the model or work organisation.

From the speech of who was a student during the period under study, the organisation of the room, the distribution and management of responsibilities and the organisation of the work plan, are also keywords that emerge among the fifteen most frequent, congruent with their frequency in the photographs, in the videos or in the written documents, and simultaneously with those documents, for the

organisation and the work planning.

All persons, except one, who participated in exchange voyages with school correspondents, mention it, usually more than once, during the course of the interview. The management of responsibilities is present in ten of the twenty-one statements and in approximately one-third of the filmed material. Here we add the focus, in more than a quarter of the videos, to the cooperation councils, which are referred to as *assembly*, because, at the time, this was still the term commonly used in the classroom. Of all the working times at Voz do Operário da Ajuda, that of the assembly is the most talked about among the testimonies: two-thirds of the interviewees, that is, fourteen of the twenty-one former students mention it, on average, twice throughout the conversation. Whoever speaks of assembly, speaks of management of responsibilities: this is the case for thirteen people. Two people speak about this administration without mentioning the board meeting connected to it.

While the assembly meeting (council) is the most referred ***time*** in discourses, the most mentioned ***school space*** is the big fig tree, followed by the playground space. Twenty out of twenty-four people mention the fig tree at least once and those who speak about the tree, as a rule, also mention the playground, which, as we will see later on, is a space as well for leisure as for work.

But the workspace most of all talked about is outside the school: the camps. Inside the building, the most remembered place is the basement, which simultaneously also served as a space for work and leisure.

Looking specifically at the testimonies of those who were teachers during the period studied, and crossing what they say with the information emerging from the documentary collection that I called *memory frozen in time*, the presence of the parents and the relationship with them stand out. Parents are present in half of the filmed material, including camps, conversations regarding ongoing studies and projects, activities organised at school and in thirty-four (almost 10%) of three hundred and fifty-four photographs. In fact, their involvement in many of the activities with children and adults working at the school will be visible throughout this study.

The teachers' testimonies about the school organisation are accompanied by the filmed material and by the entire collection in the importance that is given to the explanation of the way in which the collective work is organised, with emphasis on the text work, that is, the collective work of writing and reading texts produced by the children themselves. Sixteen of the twenty-three videos address organisation, which the three teachers repeatedly mention throughout the statement, while nine videos and nineteen photographs (6%) address collective work, with slightly lower numbers for text work. The relationship with learning in all its aspects occupies the teachers' discourse, along with the very way of organising work. They repeatedly mention these aspects, returning to them, on average, seven times during the

conversation. Sixteen of the twenty-three videos refer to the organisation of work and also to the relationship with learning, and approximately one-fifth of the written documents as well as one-fifth of the photographs accompany this speech.

The dynamic memories of people make regulation meetings emerge more often, with the words *assembly*, *conflicts* explaining their absence, *planning*, while the keyword *fig tree* is, as mentioned, what highlights the most talked about place on the school grounds.

Isolating the interviewed group of Voz do Operário da Ajuda former students, the disciplines of physical education and music appear and a large percentage refer of *after Voz do Operário* in various aspects, related to studies and entering the profession.

For the group of former teachers interviewed, there are memories predictable for whom lived the school project as an educator. They give more prominence to the *wall journal*, a diary that provides the agenda for the *assembly* meetings, to the *relationship between children*, to the way in which *group decision* is taken and to the large number of *guests*, to collaborate in the studies that the classes decide to develop.

The most emerging keyword in the set of *memories frozen in time* is *cooperative work*, visible in videos and photographs, described in the albums resulting from the work projects in the different classes. In the set of videos and photos, it is worth highlighting the items that were identified with the keyword *relations with power*.

Isolated in the filmed documents stand out situations that I identified with the keywords *friends*, *classes* and *family school*, showing on different occasions approaches to the specific learning process of Voz do Operário da Ajuda. Separately what emerges the most in the set of photos is what was identified with the words *physical space*, *festivities* and *painting*.

It will not come as a surprise to see that from the written documents emerge mainly testimonies of the process of *writing development*, of the *work organisation* and its records, as well as of the work process around the production of *texts*.

I organised the text that follows according to three focuses: the first analyses the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda more in general and describes its characteristics and particularities, routines and pedagogical instruments. It returns the constituent elements of this school shape in relation to more general aspects that help to understand its pedagogical paradigm. It marks the space-time of the stable group that frames its social interactions.

The second focus highlights the relationship between subjects and with power. It reveals the management of learning contexts, based on sharing power and permanent negotiation of work and its execution.

The third focus highlights the interaction with knowledge. It shows how knowledge is generated from a cooperative learning process, mediated by teachers, who them-

selves are reflective learners in the process.
Finally, I point out some choices necessary for the readability of the text that follows. The very devolution of the image of the school shape of social relations of Voz do Operário da Ajuda in three subchapters invites to return to some activities, described from different angles of view. The same camp, for example, can be seen under aspects of pedagogical relationship (in the school shape, in the first subchapter), ways of learning to handle power (in the second subchapter) and interaction and relationship between the school world and the outside world (in the third subchapter).
For the detailed description of the school reality, present in the universe of memories analysed, I based myself in the first place on the memories of the subjects involved at the time. The clipping of the speech requires some care when reading certain statements. Whenever I considered it useful, for a better understanding, the chosen extract is accompanied by some information that clarifies the context in which it was produced. All quotations are reproduced as transcribed, with three exceptions. To facilitate reading, I replaced the *ipsis verbis repetitions* and some redundancies, both typical phenomena of oral discourse, with square brackets including three points: [...].
I used the same parentheses to enclose a substituted word for the original word or the addition of an omitted word, in order to improve the understanding of what was said: [word changed or inserted]. The third alteration to the literal and complete copy of the speech given by the interviewees has to do with the connectors of oral speech. Where it made it easier to read, I replaced them with dots, dashes or commas. All transcripts, from memories purposely recorded by interview and for the present work, are presented in light characters. Quotations from reference authors as well as the transcription of information from documents in the existing documentary collection are presented in *italic light characters*.
When the citations are larger they obey to similar indentation in the text, maintaining the same logic: 'Text taken from the transcript of an interview' and, if not mentioned in the text before:

> *"Text from a reference author or from the documentary collection" (author or document, year: page).*

Finally, I call attention to the use of the reference ***public school*** by several interlocutors. In Portugal public school equals free of charges state school, which could lead to the understanding that there is a pedagogical paradigm of the private and social solidarity schools as *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is, differing from a pedagogical paradigm of the official school. Obviously, this is a way of talking, on behalf of the interviewees to contrast their experience at Voz do Operário da Ajuda with their own experience or the experience of friends outside *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, as a rule, in official state schools. There is no intention of generalisation here

either on my part, and, from what is understood from the context in which comparisons are made, nor on the part of those who allowed me to interview them, to consider a school shape explicitly reserved for non-state schools, and another common to all state schools.

The space-time of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda

In this first subchapter I propose to analyse the way of doing school in Voz do Operário da Ajuda from the elements that compose it. In *The fig tree school* I discuss the space and the experience in it, some comparisons that emerged during interviews with former students and former teachers of the school. In *The learning of 'many with many'* I see how the singularity of this shape pops up in the pedagogical relationship and in the exchange of learning. At this point I also see models and methodological options the school's teachers refer to, both convergent and divergent. This school uses, like all schools, didactic means. I analyse them in *Innovative teaching means?* to understand its function in this specific context. Here, I also give some attention to the pedagogical scenario, to the organisation of the classroom, which itself can be considered a didactic means for the way in which the interaction with knowledge will be provided. In *More rituals that help* I analyse some specific aspects of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, relating the use of the building's basement and a van, as well as the very unique lunch time, together with a first approach to working time. The rituals related to festivities, and above all, the organisation of the Magusto festivity[1] are covered under this title.

The fig tree school

The questions

How does the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school present itself in the various memoirs? To what extent does the experience of students in relation to the space in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* correspond to the intention declared by the teachers? How is this organisational intention in relation to the organisation of space evidenced in the analysed documents? How did this organisational intention become one of the determining aspects of the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda?
The school, the playground, the way in which the space and the experience of the school are presented in the testimonies and documents show a work environment

[1] The Magusto is the essential Galician and Portuguese autumn pagan origin festival similar to the Gaelic Samhain. In addition to chestnuts and local young wine, various foods have been incorporated. Traditionally, grilled sardines are also served, a great delicacy in this region. (Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Castañada, consulted on 28/07/2023)

that some interviewees refer to as a family school or a non-normal school. Some go so far as to say that it is not a school. The fig tree, in the playground, is omnipresent in the former students' speeches. The old house, that is, the very building in which the school is housed, seems to contribute to memories of working as a great family. The cover of the section *A Nossa Escola*[2] shows the school through a student's drawing: a view of the building, from the playground, with the direct access from some rooms to this open space stands out and where a large fig tree occupies a central place.

The family environment in a 'non-normal' school

The singularity of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school emerges from the speeches and images collected through the keywords *welcoming school*, *family environment*, and *non-normal school*. The workspace itself is present, in people's memories, as an important aspect for this feeling of well-being that is evident throughout the testimonies and in different ways, as will be perceptible in this and the two other subpoints of this chapter that tells the memories of the school of the fig tree.
Tomás Prata, student of the T3 class between 1987 and 1991[3], who claims not to have great memories of the work done at Voz do Operário da Ajuda, is very clear when he says that it was a place where he felt good:

> "I really enjoyed going there, and not long ago when we were — just a little while ago I was saying, I was looking for our house, the house is still ours — in Boa Hora (me: Ah!) The area is all to be demolished, but the apartment where we lived is still ours. [...] After I got married, before the girl was born, I took [my wife] to go see it and we went there. And I took a little walk, passed in front of Voz do Operário. I stopped there: "You know, I went here, it was my school at the time" and I have a very good memory, because I still remember where it was and how I was going to get there. And I liked, I liked going there. It was positive, at least for me."

Before going deeper into the memory of the space itself, it is important to look at a set of testimonies, such as this one by Tomás Prata, which relate, in the first place, to the feeling of a well-being, warmth, context. Spending time at the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school seems to correspond to adopting a kind of family, or, as some of the interviewees say, finding a family environment at this school. To understand the testimonies, I now situate the groups and, in them, the people interviewed.

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[2] Brochure produced by teachers and students in 1989 to publicise the work done at the school.

[3] I place the people who testify according to the class and the time in which they attended the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school. In the first occurrence, I make the reference in the text, then I make the reference in footnotes whenever it is justified. Names used here substitute the real names.

seven classes speak

The class that will be referred to as T3 is the class where Tomás Prata and I met and worked together for two years, occupying three different places. There are no photographic records of the first room. I only found some photographs of the meeting with the Portuguese correspondents in the castle of São Jorge and in the castle of the Moors (Sintra). During the 1989-1990 school year, the workroom consists of a narrow space of 18 square meters. 17 people work there. Around the tables, children work in small groups or individually. Some children, including Selma Belo and Carla Brito, who were also interviewed, are working with an assistant teacher. Two other interviewed ex-students appear: Raul Bento is working in the space that appears to be for painting and construction and Diogo Garcia occupies the space for the school press. This class gained six students and moved to another room in the 1990-1991 school year. Here, the tables are placed in small work areas, separated by furniture and a laced rope *screen*. In a long filmed work session, the group explores a programming algorithm that they made together, in the Logo programming language, developed by Seymour Papert (1980), to be used by children, exemplifying the execution of subroutines through simulation. We recognise Diogo Garcia and Irene Querido as "programmers". Sheila Castro is also part of this group of "programmers" who instruct the "turtle" on the procedures to follow. In all the images, a very informal treatment is observed, but in which the floor is asked and there are not two people talking at the same time. The way of being in the room does not seem to differ much from the way of being during outside activities with the correspondents.

There is no image of the T1 class. Francisco Neto, the only interviewee in this class, remembers an organisation of space not very different from the organisation that we will find in classes T5 and T7, both with teacher Julieta Lopes[4]. A characteristic of the classes with Julieta Lopes is the presence of animals. Classes T5 and T7 talk about cats and rabbits, but some images also reveal birds and fish, as well as guinea pigs and hamsters. Several videos show that the T7 class has a specific room for the animals. In one of them, Melissa Lousada, Rita Silves and Carla Gouveia speak from the memories they have of this group. The T5 class lived with Sebastião the cat, who often stayed with the children during the Councils to organise and manage the group's life or during working hours as a video document shows. Julieta Lopes is explicit about cats:

> "[...] we stayed with the mother cat and another cat, which were Belmira and

[4] Julieta Lopes was a teacher at Voz do Operário da Ajuda from the mid-'70s until 2001, with two short breaks, when she went to work in Guinea , as she recounts during her interview.

> Sebastião, who still lives[5], they were our pets. They were on top of the children's desks, in such a way that we only realised it when we were filming for parent meetings, and there the kittens were on top (laughs) with the boys pushing them away to get to work. ***Me*** : But this didn't bother the kids or you? ***Juliet*** : Neither me, never, on the contrary, was it highly enriching."

When I went back to school to give my contribution as a father[6], in my daughter Sara's T7 class, I could see that.

In one of the Councils of the T5 and T6 classes which, as teachers Julieta Lopes and Dora Agostinho testify, worked in cooperation, we see Tomás Duarte and Carla Garcia directing the council meeting. From another document that reports on the same group, we realise that Carla is co-responsible for the library, as she will remember at the meeting, through a subject that she put on the agenda for discussion. Milene Afonso and Judite Pinheiro still testify from this group.

The T6 class worked with me for a year, starting with the 1992-1993 school year, accompanied by Dora Agostinho and Julieta Lopes. The group includes Vítor Abreu and Ricardo Azevedo. The documents presenting these classes include images of two camps, one on the island of Berlenga and one in Alvito. The T4 group was the group with which Dora Agostinho started working at Voz do Operário da Ajuda. There are images of this group that accompanies the T3 group in a indoor camp in Portel, in addition to having moments of working together in the classroom. From this group, Fernanda Queirós testifies.

Lastly, the T2 class had Margarida Faria (not interviewed) and Clarisse Rosa as teachers. There is a single series of photographs of this class, probably all from the same day, accompanied by a pedagogical monograph made by students of the high school for teacher education of Lisbon. In this document, we see Jorge Carvalho in an assembly (council) meeting. The class, with 29 students, is the largest in number of students, in the analysed period, and Irene Pires and Milene Neves were also part of that group. At the images, emphasis goes to the work organised at the individual level, activities in partnership or in small groups, with some focus on working with the computer in the classroom, a situation not very common in Portuguese schools in 1988. Voz do Operário da Ajuda was part of a pilot of the MINERVA project led by Lisbon University. The second half of the document accompanies that meeting. There are still some photographs in a place outside the school, probably in the Montachique camp, which will be discussed later. The class pictures show an arrangement of tables in small working groups, complete with an area with two

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[5] In 2008 Sebastião came to greet visitors at the school door Belmira did n't feel much like walking anymore , usually staying by the kitchen door, sleeping.

[6] See page 216 , "*With adults and between adults*" .

computers and a painting area. Standing out in the photographs of this class, as in two of the documents that accompany the T5 and T6 classes, are the lunches that are made in the classroom and require careful organisation.

a form with another norm

Those who attend school have to feel good. Dora Agostinho[7] affirms this and remembers that it was her first concern when she started working at the school:

> "... for a month or so, of course we worked in the classroom, but it was more a work that could help on the relationship between a small group and me, rather than a work that I was really worried about if they were learning a lot if they were little, I really wanted them to feel good at school and that they felt good with me, in this case, right?"

As we will see later on from the analysis of testimonies it is obvious there is a relation of pleasure with work. People often talk about choosing activities, giving the reason for choosing the pleasure of working on the chosen task, rather than the need to fulfil a curriculum. Francisco Neto links this feeling of working for pleasure to the general atmosphere of the school:

> "... I remember that we ourselves often came to conclusions about that, isn't it, what, and we knew, deep down, we knew when we were running away too, I remember feeling that, wanting to go more for things that gave me pleasure, going more after the pleasure principle than the reality principle, than actually doing what we needed to, but it was also normal, I think, we liked being at school, I remember that , we really liked that, the school, going there, working there, working in partnerships, we had the opportunity to do that, to work in partnership."

Diogo Garcia[8] makes a similar comment:

> "I really, really don't remember the second grade, the teacher, or what she taught me or anything like that. Wait, I remember, something along the lines of, hmm, now let's go in and let's do math, this is going to be math class or something. It was more... different, it was more separate, as far as I can remember... if I remember correctly, ... it was more separate, now let's do math, now let's do this, now let's do that. I remember you a lot, maybe I'm wrong, it was "I feel like doing that, now I feel like doing that".

Well-being is evident in the episode that Francisco Neto recounts, remembering a child who had brought a real pistol to school to show a classmate:

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7 Teacher at Voz do Operário da Ajuda since 1992.

8 Class T3, student at the school between 1988 and 1991.

> "... they had to do a work on weapons and presented it: what about weapons, what were they used for, what were positive and negative aspects of having weapons, and I remember all of us thought, we feel that...: 'the day that **I** in turn make a huge mistake, I will not be crucified, they will help me, yes, to see that mistake from another perspective. I think that's what you should do in education, isn't it? Turning a blunder into an educational factor and I remember that we, this we also felt, were positively marked by this knowledge."

Dora Agostinho started working at Voz do Operário da Ajuda after Francisco Neto was a student at the school. According to her,

> "I prefer any kid to be ***happy*** (emphasis) at school than to be the best student in school."

The feeling of well-being is associated with a set of small facts that jump to people's memory. Diogo Garcia, recalling conversations with co-workers, states:

> "I remember the way you taught there, I didn't have any comparison experiences either. Because, (...) I have the feeling, when I talk like this with colleagues, who went to public school, I have the feeling that my first class was not a very normal school either, that is, it was a school where there was a teacher, or two, and that, in the same room were the four classes, it was not an old-fashioned school, with a ruler and all that. Okay, maybe I can't compare it with what primary is elsewhere. Because then the person goes to the preparatory course and everything changes."

The comparison between what was experienced in Voz do Operário da Ajuda and what was found afterwards serves as a basis for older students to refer to this school as not normal, not only in relation to work, but also in other situations like the one Francisco Neto evokes, from when he was in kindergarten:

> "We were all going back there, in the [teacher's] jeep, (laughs), here we are talking about 1982, so, look, I remember we were all back there in the jeep, the whole class, I don't know how many there were, but I know we loved it, whenever we had to go around in her jeep, we were all happy, I'll never forget, it was, well, a huge parody. We would go back there and then: "look, the police are coming!" and everyone lowered their heads... We were delirious in Ana's jeep, an UMM, beautiful, this one... and that's it".

The documentary collection contains footage of work situations with episodes that show unusual norms in the school context. During the aforementioned indoor camp in Portel, recorded in 1990, two groups visited the works on the dam on the Guadiana, near Alqueva. The children climb the rocks under the eyes of the teachers. In another document, we observe the T3 class taking advantage of a

physical education class by doing runs and measurements of various types in order to understand the concept of speed as the ratio between distance and time. The race, filmed in 1991, takes place outdoors in the rain. In a camp in Alvito, children bathe with a watering can, as shown in a record filmed in 1994, with one of the people interviewed. The film about the organisation of a Magusto celebration shows a child, on top of a ladder, hanging ribbons on a metal cable fixed to a wall. A colleague holds the ladder. The action is repeated by another child on one of the basketball hoops. These images from the school's archive evoke living and working situations that are different from the "classic" school way, with students in the classroom, subject to the teacher's lesson and looking at the blackboard. Situations of real work, organisation and creation of contexts and activities between children and adults, in a context of school learning, are presented.

Dora Agostinho remembers very well the group she accompanied in 1993, working regularly in partnership with Julieta Lopes. She evokes a study on Lisbon, carried out with the whole group:

> "And this year, it was a really crazy year, in which we saw Lisbon in every possible way, including by plane to see Lisbon from above. Then we also had, because of the Tagus River, a visit scheduled with a submarine. Everything was marked when we remembered that submarines don't have windows, and you couldn't see the river (laughs). It was that part about pollution and all those things, but that was a little off the ground afterwards, we didn't get to do that exactly for that reason. Whatever, we went for a flight by plane, to understand how the spatial organisation was. We had already been working through some information, but then, we could see, in addition to down here, also from above, really, ... it has a specific organisation."

Several of the interviewees refer to the school as a family school, or a school where everyone is part of a large family, according to the interlocutor. Vítor Abreu[9], for example, recalls:

> "...we were all sitting in a way that was a bit more...familiar in a way. The classroom itself had, I remember it was always full of work that we were doing and that other students had also done in the past, things that were happening."

Selma Bento[10] associates this feeling of a family atmosphere not only with the classroom, but with the entire school:

> "The school itself, the structure of the school, was different from all the official

[9] Class T6, between 1991 and 1994.

[10] Class T3, between 1987 and 1991.

> schools we have here. Because of being part of the palace housing, that alone made the school a more welcoming environment, without a doubt, not as rigorous, not as disciplined as other schools, not as cold, it was a much more... euh, familiar environment (emphasis). That's what I remember right away. When I go there, you feel the heat, even today, when I go there, it is a school that I have very good memories of."

Carla Garcia[11] adds that there was a more particular relationship with one of the school's employees:

> "... Dona Augusta always stayed a little longer, and as she lived there in Linda-a-Velha, my mother would give her a lift... it was a small thing, right, we would go out and instead of her taking a taxi, we left her in Linda-a-Velha... this created a closeness, because it made sense, I took her home when I left school, like when I arrived at school, the next day, it was as if I was part of the family."

The relationships that are established between people influence the way of doing school. These relationships are not the result of chance. Milene Afonso[12] sees them as a feature of the school, on an ongoing basis, when she says:

> "Julieta maintained the informality that always existed at school; which was how everyone treated each other. Everyone was treated for you[13], and this for me was something very important, and very interesting too... even with Dona Augusta (laughs) who was from an older generation, isn't she, the oldest in the school."

A third of the former students interviewed evoke the family school, not only when talking about people and the relationships between them, but also when describing the interactions between the different classes. Irene Pires[14] says, when she remembers a study she did on cats and ancient Egypt:

> "there was an environment, then I was in a class, but we also went from class to class, we could enter the other rooms, of course with a good reason, it wasn't to disturb, hmm, but then the system was all a bit familiar, the staff and teachers, and all the other students, and I remember that work a little bit because of that, because at the time, my two older sisters were also at Voz, and at the time we had a cat that gave birth to seven kittens. And that's it, in addition to having found out [to know] who we were going to give the kittens

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11 Class T5, between 1989 and 1994.

12 Class T5, between 1989 and 1994.

13 Even today, students often treat teacher in the third person, whereas teacher treat children in the second person (note 2014).

14 Class T2, between 1986 and 1989.

> to, it was a very fun thing for the children, them going to see cats. Man, I don't remember if there was a lot of school going, but a lot of students, a lot of children went to see the kittens, because we lived nearby, ...".

Among the photographs of the T2 class, there is one that illustrates the familiarity at lunchtime. In the classroom itself, children and the teacher are sitting around the work tables, transformed into dining tables, talking to each other while having lunch. Lunches are a mark of familiarity even though they are associated with the formal distribution of tasks and the management of the group through shared responsibilities[15].

Familiarity is also expressed in work between classes. Later on[16] I analyse in detail the work itself outside the school. Inside the school, classes got used to developing activities together. One of the videos shows the T3 and T4 classes occupying the two rooms, which are open to each other through an internal door. Small groups discuss a text by one of the children, chosen to be collectively improved. The non-formal and familiar context is also revealed when a group in full action during a camp activity arrives at a checkpoint for a track game, where the teacher is waiting for them with a cigarette in her mouth.

The familiarity that exists in the school is unique, even in the context of the Institution. For Sheila Castro[17]:

> "The familiarity there was in Voz do Operário da Ajuda. For the world of Voz do Operário da Graça, it was a bit different. Although what I feared most was leaving Voz do Operário da Graça to go to Passos Manuel secondary school. Why? Because there was a little bit of that fear that the... that the Voz do Operário... was very protective and high school was scary,... robberies and things. Interestingly, I was robbed of a lot of money at Voz do Operário da Graça, and no one ever stole anything from me at Lyceum (laughs)."

Melissa Lousada[18] synthesises familiarity with the sense of belonging that surrounds everyone at the school as follows:

> "... it was a set... there was teamwork that basically involved everyone who worked there, cleaning persons, employees, drivers, everyone had a very important role in that school, it wasn't just the employee who was going to give the snacks, it was Dona Augusta, it was Dona Fátima, they had an important role, they all played... they were all somebody. Some were nicer, others less so. And I was very impressed by Voz do Operário, I think that if it

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15 See *"From performed task towards task management"* .

16 See *"Taking ownership of 'out there', working inside and outside"*

17 Class T3, school year 1990-1991.

18 Class T7, between 1995 and 1999, after kindergarten, also in Voz do Operário da Ajuda.

> weren't for Voz do Operário, I wouldn't be many of the things that I am, I wouldn't think many things the way I do, ...".

Although not much talked about by those I interviewed, the filmed documents and photographs show the interest shown to this school with its particular form by third parties. One of the videos is entirely made and edited by the high school for teacher education of Lisboa, with the title of *Pedagogical Monograph*, another shows a short report from the program "Acontece" on state television RTP 2. As I will report, the vice-presidents of the Municipality of Lisbon[19], Bredene (Belgium) and Leuven (Belgium) receive the children. The mayors of Alvito and Portel grant interviews when the school visits these Municipalities. Other people allow themselves to be invited at school to participate in an activity or to be interviewed by the children about their personal and professional experiences .

The Voz do Operário da Ajuda school had something singular, for those who evoke it in school memories and for those who chose to keep the albums, projects and work materials in the collection. Francisco Neto expresses it clearly:

> "I think we were aware. In our homes we played with children from other schools. We had the notion, really, that our school was different, because the television sometimes went there — at least that's the memory I have — it went there and we felt very important. They interviewed us, we appeared on the news talking, they interviewed us, right, what was our organisation like, etc. More than once, I remember the television. And I also remember going there with people, probably people from the field of education, interns, students, I don't know, doing work on ..., research, I don't know. It was normal for us to have other people in the room, and we went about our work normally...".

Spaces in Ajuda

The spaces of Voz do Operário da Ajuda are four at that time: two interiors and two exteriors. The interior spaces are arranged on two floors. The outdoor spaces consist of the recreational space, uneven in the area of the wall that separates the grounds of *Calçada da Ajuda* and the space with trees. Two fig trees serve as shelter, meeting and discussion places, as we will see through the collected memories. In the documentary collection and in the interviews there are references to spaces that I have grouped in the keywords *physical space*, *fig tree*, *accident fig tree* and *playground*.

Interior spaces with variations

The ground floor is divided into 5 spaces transformed into classrooms, a kitchen and a block of mixed bathrooms. The lower floor forms a basement with 4

[19] See "*Taking ownership of 'out there', working inside and outside*"

rectangular spaces.

Eighteen of the twenty-one former students interviewed evoke the school's physical space. This evocation mainly contemplates the playground and the fig tree in the playground. Room descriptions are brief. In them, there is some reference to information on the walls[20] that helps to make decisions and conduct learning processes. Irene Pires presents the school as follows:

> "...it was the entrance, which was a patio, which, for now, opened onto other houses, which was a kind of village, and I don't think we played there because it was an open space and the children could go out to the road and it would be dangerous for teachers or staff not to have control over the kids, it was more at the back."

Jorge Carvalho remembers:

> "entering some gates and then having the patio, right, and then having the door, and, I have a marked presence of the classrooms. It was a corridor, which made an L, and the classrooms... there were two on the right side, if I'm not mistaken, one of them made the corner, and then at the end, I think there was another room on the left side, and to the left At the back was the kitchen, and then, at the back, a little behind, we had the bathrooms."

This description corresponds very well to the sketch (figure 1 on next page) with the occupation of the space, in the 1988-1989 school year, when Jorge Carvalho attended the 4th year of schooling.

The facilities request the support of the mothers and fathers to keep the school painted and minimally arranged. Teacher Dora Agostinho summarises the situation: "since the installations are not new, and were not built from scratch for the school, there were many situations in which improvements were necessary".

In fact, the rooms have white painted walls and blue woodwork. Many of the wooden furniture are also painted blue. Underneath the windows are storage spaces. All the rooms have, in a corner, some protective panels on the walls, which serve as an easel for painting. From the 1994-1995 school year, school furniture is renewed. The small individual tables were replaced by two-seater tables and the blue of the lids, which was also dominant, is replaced by white lids, while the iron structure becomes red. In the kindergarten, the lower and lighter tables in orange Formica and a black metal structure remain.

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20 See "*The organisation of information*"

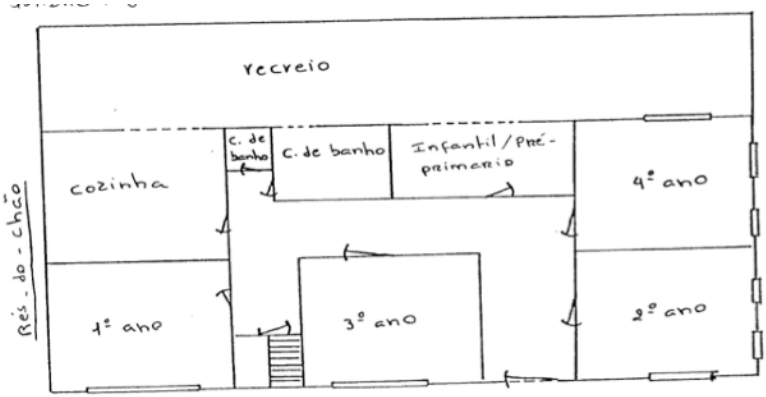

Figure 1: sketch Voz do Operário – Ajuda (Faria, 1989, p. 183)

In the 1990-1991 school year, the T3 class had its space organised differently from the other classes, featuring a labyrinth of tables and rope screens stretched between the floor and the ceiling [21].

The L-shaped corridor that Jorge Carvalho talks about, as well as the stairs to the basement, are quite narrow. Two adults pass each other with difficulty. Hangers are placed along the corridor and the number of coats hanging makes the corridor even narrower. The kitchen has a large fireplace. There is a double door that gives access to the playground. Some old cupboards with Formica doors occupy the walls beside the fireplace and to the left of the door to the hallway. There is also a refrigerator and a chest. In front of the door that gives access to the corridor, there are two tables, each with two benches along its length. About the interior, there is still need to talk about the basement, about which there are several testimonies. The way in which it is integrated within the school space is in itself an aspect of the unique way of doing school in Voz do Operário da Ajuda, which I will explore further ahead [22].

Multipurpose outdoor spaces

More than the classrooms, the former students' descriptions reveal many details about the playground, and in it the two large fig trees, which they climb. They occupy a central space in the memories of everyone who went to school, even the teachers.

The playground, and above all, the fig tree in the playground, remained in the

[21] A more detailed description follows in *"Differences between classes"*

[22] See "*School Rituals*"

memory of almost all of the interviewees. Only four former students did not mention that tree. The classic class pictures are taken under the banyan tree. It served as a shelter for outdoor activities, during activities with parents and for some work organisation meetings. It provided shade for food laid out on tables at end-of-year picnics, and also allowed for outdoor lunches:

> "Well, at playground, I remember having some meals there, during spring times, or when the weather was better, and those times were pleasant" (Clarisse Rosa).

In 1993, the fig tree at the back of the playground was cut down due to an accident that Milene Afonso[23] reports later on. The huge fig tree in front of one of the rooms, next to the water tank, was also "amputated"[24].

uneven 2D space ...

The playground, much used for activities with the educational community, also had a sand space and a simple structure with three metal tubes, which allowed acrobatics and somersaults to be performed. Among other testimonies, Raul Bento[25] remembers the venue as follows:

> "At playground, I remember we had some basketball hoops, and we had a small rectangle of sand, with some irons, we also had concrete rings[26], I think there were three of them, and a big fig tree, and we had tires, and every now and then when... this one from time to time must have been really sporadically, but I remember there were some problems with neighbours, I don't know if it was because of balls, but I have an idea about it."

Tomás Duarte[27] adds:

> "[where] I think VO brings more memories, that's it, it's the playground and all the imaginary that was our world there and what we lived around our playground. Of course, of course, we were also taking some risks at times." ***Me***: "Risk what do you mean?" ***Thomas***: "Oh! We would go up to the roofs, and walk through the neighbour's backyard, among many other adventures, but of course, yeah, I think as a child, it was the imaginary, it was our world and I was discovering it, and this is one of the funniest memories I have of Voz ."

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23 Class T5, between 1990 and 1994.

24 During a visit to the school in 2012, it was a shock to discover that the big fig tree was also cut down. Only pieces of trunk remained that now serve as a table. The shadow of the trees was replaced by the shadow of a hammock. From the fig tree, stories and history remain ...

25 Class T3, between 1987 and 1991.

26 Concrete rings like those used to make diversions and underground channels for small watercourses .

27 Class T5, between 1990 and 1994.

Teacher Dora Agostinho thinks *"that is the most striking thing about the playground, it was the fig tree and there, the jump into the neighbour's backyard."* It ended in 1993, when the fig tree at the bottom broke.

However, Irene Querido[28] has this memory present:

> "In the last year, at a certain point, we already jumped the wall from the fig tree, to get fruit, lemons. I don't think I ever went, even me, I was the last person, but I was in the small group that agreed that the fruit was good and wouldn't go away (laughs). From the top of the fig tree, I gave the order: 'Let's go, let's go' (pause) That's it."

More peaceful memories speak of marble games and football, but also of the definition of spaces for certain activities, which Judite Pinheiro[29] evokes:

> "Ah, playground. It was great. It was huge in height. And we played, the boys played football, always from one corner to the other, there was the goal, the other goal, the girls were always getting involved. There was a part, an area with sand, which was for doing somersaults, then there were some tunnels, next to the tunnels there were some dimples, where we played marbles, and these tunnels were where the girls usually played, and they told all the secrets, ..."

Carla Brito[30] and Irene Pires remember the tires:

> "because there was like this, a bottom, we went down some stairs and went to another part and a ramp that would lead to a garage, or to a car exit, which was closed, and we also played there with the tires ..."

Tires made it possible to build "castles" but also structures to climb and to knock down. They are used for collective games.

The beds in the playground and the space above, close to the *irons*, had a lot of soil *"One thing that we did [and that] we never enjoyed in Telheiras, but in VO we enjoyed, [it was to do] those little holes to play with the marbles " (Irene Querido)*.

The playground had its own organisation, with rules defined among the children, who copied models used in the classroom, occasionally assisted by the teachers. Irene Pires[31] testifies:

> "there was a bit of that gender division in some games, but, I think, maybe, we reproduced a little bit the model we saw in the classroom: we always had to reach consensus."

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28 Class T3, between 1987 and 1991.

29 Class T5, between 1989 and 1994.

30 Class T3, between 1987 and 1991.

31 Class T2, between 1985 and 1989.

In this regard, Milene Afonso recalls:

> "I was evolving, let's say, in the hierarchy of the playground, (laughs). As I hadn't been there at school, I hadn't been there, in kindergarten, unlike [my friends] for example – I always really liked playing football — but in the first grade, I remember that I mostly went to the irons, doing somersaults and such, playing, I don't know, with elastic bands, some activity like that (laughs), which in the organisation regarding playground, was more, more peripheral let's say. Basically, the little ones, those in pre and first grade, and some in second grade, had more peripheral activities, that is, in the sand, and on the irons, or near the corridor, or near... they had some games, in small groups, while the bigger ones, probably your students, like Leandro, for example, played football. They occupied most of the playground. Okay, that's pretty much what I remember at recess."

Carla Gouveia[32] confirms: "(laughs) From the playground I remember more when we were younger, the girls being there playing with barbies and dolls, the boys, probably playing football in the meantime."

As teacher Dora Agostinho tells later, the organisation of playground sometimes involved class council meetings (referred to as assemblies) but also the more spontaneous hierarchisation evoked by Milene Afonso. She will still attribute to the big fig tree a role in establishing the hierarchy among the children.

The playground, as a specific element of the school, appears as a space for socialisation, where various types of power are experienced (Vincent, Lahire and Thin, 1994) and where regulation is also a cultural construct, which becomes clearer from the moment when, in 1992, the day teams were installed, in the organisation of the school, to contribute to the democratic management of the school and its activities. According to teacher Julieta Lopes:

> "The playgrounds, it was within the team, or within the teams, because the whole school worked like that, it wasn't just my classroom, it was all the same way, in the playgrounds, each team, in each room, had a playground manager. "

Julieta Lopes remembers that Voz do Operário da Ajuda has space to organise five classes of between twenty and twenty-five children, making a maximum capacity of one hundred and twenty-five. Sheila Castro, coming from another VO-school, states that the playground "was tiny compared to Voz do Operário da Graça, very tiny, ... "

And about this playground, Milene Afonso resumes,

> "Everyone played with everyone basically. And respected their space, that is, if there is a group that is suddenly there, they feel like playing there... OK, no

[32] Class T7, between 1993 and 1999.

> one else goes there. Let us be, it's a little while, there we waited for our turn... So, that, I think it was instilled, it was normal. I don't know if it was something explicit, but it was, in fact, a norm, something implicit. I think we had it. It's the sum of the separate most positive memories I have. What is this healthy relationship? At least I have this one...
> It's one of the things I like, is feeling and remembering it. It's that healthy coexistence, from kids who were two, three years old, to those who were ten, twelve, and there were no such conflicts, there was no... confusion. So that was good."

The activities did not vary much and could also give rise to certain routines, such as Milene Neves[33]:

> "There were days when I [played] with Rita, from the twins, and there were other days when I played with Inês and Joana, from the twins, boy games, with the ships. But I made a lot of sacrifices, you know, because I was their friend. I wanted to play princesses (laughs). I remember thinking: 'How is it possible to play spaceships, when you can play princesses (laughs)?'..."

The imaginary of princesses and princes was reinforced by chance. Many knew the relationship between the patio and the palace of Ajuda also from the studies carried out on the history of the building that houses the school[34]. They know enough, reminds Francisco Neto[35] to imagine:

> "that it was possible that a carriage [wagon?] would have passed by and drop a ring, or something, or that [the queen] would hide it here, on this sandbank, which would have been here for centuries (laughs), and then I remember us digging, digging, there, to find the treasure or the queen's necklaces or something like that. And we never found one."

Among the activities there were also those of imitation, of self-conquest. There, as we will see, the fig trees were challenging spaces, but so were the irons, for example for Fernanda Queirós:

> "I was already able to, go around, do those somersaults on the irons that were outside, and [the next day] hit my head. I didn't do it again, I was scared. It was the second time I hit my head, I had no hair, I had a tac or an X-ray."

The playground is, in some circumstances, naturally integrated into the workspace, as stated by teacher Clarisse Rosa:

> "The playground was also used a lot for reading. They took books to

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33 T2, between 1985 and 1989

34 See "*Studies and work projects to find out more*"

35 T1, between 1982 and 1988

> playground. [It was also used for] things that made more noise, with boards and nails, which we pompously called carpentry, because we had nails and hammers and such. We made a few things: musical instruments, at that time we did a lot, with pots, with grains, now I don't know if it's still done.
> I think that... I worked in the two rooms that had doors to the playground, with this group[36] I worked in that huge, bigger room, and the door to the playground was always open, so there wasn't much of a separation, there was work that could be done in the playground, I think that the playground was an extension of the classroom, deep down ..."

When there are works that involve more classes, such as when visiting Belgian correspondents, or preparing for a joint indoor camp, the playground is used. When the weather permits, lunch is served in the playground. Activities with parents also include playground.

... and 3D space .

When talking about the use of time, in Voz do Operário da Ajuda, the most significant is the council time[37]. When talking about the use of space, one of the most referred is the top of a tree. Or, to be more precise, the tops of two fig trees. The largest is remembered by all who were students before 1995. Only four people out of a total of twenty-five do not evoke the largest tree, which Judite Pinheiro describes:

> "... there was that huge tree, the fig tree, that we were all always climbing, climbing, always up there, it was always up there. I really liked being up there, close to the boys, and the girls too, I remember that. Then there were, ... ah ... all the trees, we reached all the trees, I remember that my clothes were always torn from climbing trees. My mother didn't like it at all (laughs)".

Irene Querido agrees that the most significant spaces were: "the fig trees, which they destroyed. Those fig trees that we climbed, in the atrium, made a big impression on us, perhaps on everyone. Those shadows ... ". She is accompanied by Raul Bento, who talks about the big fig tree. From the same or different eras, Diogo Garcia, Jorge Carvalho and Tomás Prata tell that they climbed those trees, like Milene Afonso and Milene Neves. Ricardo Azevedo remembers imagining himself as a rider on top of a branch, while Selma Belo also talks about trees at playground, like Irene Pires[38]:

> "There were two fig trees that we climbed, one of which was a spaceship, because we could climb up and be on top of the top, part of the top, and then we could be there as if we were in a cockpit."

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36 Class T2

37 See "*A Council called assembly*"

38 T2, between 1984 and 1989

It is in this spaceship that Carla Garcia remembers eating figs. Carla Brito refers to "my fig trees" where, whenever it wasn't raining, playground time would be passed. Vítor Abreu explains that "we played with each other at playground, normal games, except for climbing trees."

The conquest of trees is passed from class to class. Before Vítor Abreu who speaks of 1994, Francisco Neto speaks of 1983:

> "... I remember the trees; another thing that we felt was special at that school is that we could go up in the trees, and I remember that we loved to talk there, there was plenty of room. We had schemes to go up and schemes to get out, faster, slower, over there, on the other hand, I remember that we loved those trees, ..."

Children and adults at the time spoke of trees, not only as a leisure space:

> "[...] I remember kids climbing trees and there were kids who really enjoyed reading in trees" (Clarisse Rosa).

Dora Agostinho associates the larger fig tree with the "grown up" status that children gained as they managed to climb higher in the tree:

> "I remember the fig tree, which was like that, almost what promoted the hierarchy of growth here at school; those who managed to climb one more branch were more grown, it wasn't exactly because they commanded more or less, but they were more grown, and it was something they loved, there were the playground trees that they could climb and explore."

Fig trees do not only bring joy. There were some accidents. Raul Bento says:

> "I remember that, I think about the second year, no, maybe, still in the first class... I fell from a tree and ended up in the hospital. I know it was Clarisse who went with me to the hospital. I have an image of São José Hospital, and I vaguely remember being there..."

Diogo Garcia also remembers having broken an arm while playing in the tree. A few years later, the smallest fig tree at the back of the playground broke. Tomás Duarte says that there were many children in the tree. Vítor Abreu remembers that a colleague, Joana, broke her leg because she got stuck in fallen branches. Milene Afonso has a more complete report:

> "The fig tree in the background isn't it. It basically fell and we ended up on the bottom, by chance. I remember that Joana broke her leg. She broke her leg because she was under the tree, anyway, now from a distance, I understand what could have happened, which was a bit serious, but at the time I didn't think it was that serious, right? It happened, that's it, it happened. Okay, okay.
> We were up there sitting in the tree shaking, someday this had to fall. It's not

> a little... Of course I realised that it had some seriousness, didn't it, because there was one, anyway, someone who was injured, who was even unable to play because she had to walk with a crutch, but, I didn't think so that it was like, the end of the world, and, because of that, anyway, this fig tree was basically cut down, that, almost everything was cut."

Milene's class revolted when the fig tree at the bottom was removed and the other fig tree was pruned, making the crown much smaller. Julieta Lopes, who had become the teacher responsible for this group, tells:

> "In the fall, they pruned that fig tree. They pruned it, they didn't spoil it. Only children thought they were going to cut down the fig tree. So I found a large group, in the playground, protesting, crying, that the fig tree was to be ruined and that they were going to destroy their fig tree, and I don't know what."

The uprising gave the beginning of a project on nature that ended with a camp on Berlenga Island, analysed later[39]. Julieta Lopes' version is less dramatic than the former students'. However, a filmed document that was kept at the school corroborates their version even more. Before pruning it is clear that the shade of the fig tree occupies almost half of the playground in 1989, while, in 1993, a gathering under the same tree took place in the sun.

Milene Afonso confirms this:

> "The other fig tree, there it was, got a big cut. It provided shade, it almost covered half of the playground, the basketball space, it's not, and the playground was ready, I remember us playing there on the hottest days, we basically put half of the students for under that tree, playing those [games with] hands, no problem at all, (...) the memory I have, that it was as a result of the other tree, the fall of the other tree, that this other fig tree was also cut down, I supposed to avoid any more accidents, it's not.
>
> But for me it was something dramatic (laughs). All that couldn't have happened, because anyway, it was our fig tree, wasn't it. We picked figs in the summer, we had a lot of figs from there, we went upstairs, why did they trim the tree, right? In fact, the truth is that the space in the tree had become much smaller..."

However, she recognises that teacher Julieta, seeing the children mourning the tree, mobilised them to understand the reason for things:

> "I think we managed to convert that into something positive or constructive: 'Well, well, then let's understand why the tree had to be cut down. Why did the other tree fall, therefore putting us at risk, and putting our lives at risk,

[39] See *"Taking ownership of 'out there', working inside and outside"*

isn't it, let's understand why this has to be'."

To end this look at the outside space of Voz do Operário da Ajuda and the way it was used, I would also introduce the words of Fernanda Queirós[40] who gave great importance to:

"Trees (laugh). So much so that it is the choice for [her son] to be at a school, of having chosen the school where he is, because of the trees. The imaginary we build on top of the trees..."

The Voz do Operário - Ajuda and the school

The organisation of space and time in *the school of the fig tree* embodies the singularity of the existing school shape. That it is a specific school shape is very clear to anyone who leaves Voz do Operário da Ajuda and goes to the 2nd cycle school, public or private, even when in the same institution. There is conversation about the classical school. And comparisons are made. In some cases, an attempt is made to explain how the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school was different. The feeling of having experienced this difference is ambivalent: if, on the one hand, the proposed shape is valued, on the other hand, anguish is revealed in some critical situations, because the school does not present the shape that is considered to correspond to the norm that most of schools present. I became aware of this emerging ambiguity in the speeches and in one or another document, and I identified them with two keywords: *after the VOA* and *classical school.* It is clear that this is mainly about the memories of people who were students at the Voz do Operário da Ajuda. Comparisons are inevitable. In these comparisons, the transmissive Lassallian pedagogical paradigm of instruction appears as the standard norm. This is the only way to understand the aforementioned ambivalence, when one assumes the learning path that took place and at the same time discusses whether this learning corresponds to what the school aspires to, and not each person, each with its own life project. Fifteen of the twenty-one former students interviewed talk about what they learned after leaving Voz do Operário da Ajuda. Among them, Milene Afonso, while acknowledging her great virtues, is the most critical of the singular school shape of the Calçada da Ajuda school. However, we cannot fail to notice that, in day-to-day work, there are typical episodes of the classic school shape, outside the will of children and adults, who, together, perform tasks that are ordered and imposed on them.

Looking at the *Escola da Voz do Operário da Ajuda*

As we will see later on, the studies and projects carried out by the children correspond

[40] Class T4, between 1989 and 1992

to the model of routine work at school: starting questions are asked, hypotheses are made, information is sought and what has been find and learned is presented to perceive. Projects are often associated with other elements of the group's experience: the camp, a story that has been told, a proposal inscribed on a wish list. In this case, the relation with the prescribed curriculum is made *a posteriori*.

Some statements presuppose a classical approach, in which the work of research or gathering information stems from an order placed: about the study of the regions of Portugal, about the city of Lisbon, about planets and stars. On the other hand, or at the same time, there are work projects that apparently appear outside the prescribed curriculum, such as *How Dinosaurs Lived*, however, with the typical treatment of a school work: the main information retrieves and copies commercial documents already existing, adding little or nothing to what was already written. From what I could see, this seems to be rare specific situations.

The importance that is given to the communicative meaning of written language[41] makes one opt for simple, easy-to-read writing codes. Which leads to Milene Neves' finding that:

> "G. [...] was very fundamentalist and taught us to write in print, and I didn't understand anything about handwriting. I felt this as a big flaw, because, especially the other girls who came from the official school, and I have the impression that even in Voz do Operário da Graça, they could at least also ***perceive*** the handwritten letter and we didn't know. And I remember Clarisse, the first thing she did was to say, "How is that possible, you don't know?" And she taught us and that's it, I was relieved. I thought, well, it added something to me."

This concern for using a handwritten handwriting different from the cursive that is taught at school and that often precedes reading by months, confusing literacy with the mechanical training of fine motor skills, also occupied Francisco Neto's mind:

> "In third grade, I wanted to learn cursive handwriting, the handwriting of others. Why? Because I, well, I wanted to prepare myself, as best as possible, so that in the fifth year I could be like the others, because I knew that I didn't have homework and, on top of that, I knew that I didn't write the same way as the others. But I didn't know that later, in the fifth year, everyone dropped that handwriting (laughs) so I switched to primary [school] handwriting, and I even kept that [...] handwriting, and everyone else adopted the handwriting I had in first school."

It is interesting that Francisco mentions wanting to be like the others, and seeing school as a place to achieve this. Julieta Lopes, his teacher, allegedly told him that

41 See "*The social use of knowing how to read and write*"

she would help him to learn the handwritten school *script*, so that at the end of the fourth year he was writing *the primary [school] handwriting* as he says.

And, in fact, the school does not present itself like other schools. Sheila Castro clearly states this: "And I think that I hated school until I went there, and I confess that, regardless of your being here, this is not a conversation that I don't have elsewhere too, you see, ... ". She explains how that year in Voz do Operário da Ajuda she was for the first time considered a person, who felt effectively responsible and involved in her own learning process. And she felt valued for what she already knew, because she was not compared with others, but was helped to assess her own progress.

Milene Afonso counters this appreciation of what was achieved. From her perspective that was not always healthy:

> "I had a tendency, perhaps, towards leadership, and I think that, because I wasn't so regulated on my part or, perhaps, by those entitled to it, let's say, it could sometimes border on authoritarianism, that is, I can appear authoritarian or be too lazy or something. I recognise that in myself, but I recognise that the environment perhaps did not make it much easier for me to help myself in this sense, that is, self-mastery or self-control at this level as well.

On the other hand, she considers that the work she was able to do with some colleagues on whales, after having seen a video about their lives, was something that "marked me a lot, and that on the one hand led me to my, my career of ethologist let's say so.. . "

The way in which work projects arise means that the curriculum is regularly scrutinised. Not forgetting that there is a lot of freedom in the choice of topics, as we will see later on[42], other work orders result from this reading of the curriculum.

But the concentration provoked in teachers and students by openly cultivating a singular school shape is not revealed only in the treatment of learning, including school-based learning. As we will see throughout this chapter, there are situations in which a great capacity for self-responsibility is required from children. The 'day responsible' or 'the day leading team' are at the head of the group, even on the street, when they go to meet the physical education teacher in another building 500 meters from the school, or during outside work and camping. In these, even young children are trusted to participate in track games, going from one checkpoint to another, without being accompanied by adults. According to Milene Afonso, this did not always go well. She remembers a visit to Belém, when some classmates decided to go into the water next to the Belém Tower. The teachers weren't around and she says she stayed:

> "very distressed because if someone [could] drown or something like that,

[42] See *"Studies and work projects to find out more"*

> anything. And it was disgusting, because I knew that the water in the Tagus was polluted and everything, and I thought "Oh, how horrible", someone gets sick with this crap, and [I was] the only person who, well, who didn't hear a scolding, but ok. There it is, this has a comic part, true, but it also has a part that is not positive at all, is it? [I didn't go] in the water, but it also reveals flaws and deficits that I think sometimes happened."

The testimonies refer to other episodes in which matters are resolved pragmatically and in a very different way than in the context of a school institution with very precise and prescribed rules, associated with its history and shape. Without allowing itself to be governed by these impersonal rules, external to teachers and students, in Voz do Operário da Ajuda situations are presented and resolved: the cars of teachers and some parents serve as a means of transport when the van does not arrive or does not accommodate everyone, to visit correspondents, to go to the national stadium or to go out in Lisbon with the kindergarten class; mothers are mobilised for field work when appointments cannot hold the whole class; parents and teachers mobilise to paint and maintain the building; hose showers are improvised in the playground and in the camps.

Inevitable comparisons

Comparisons were inevitable. I tried to group them under four entries. First, there is conversation about what was strange, or what becomes strange, sometimes reprehensible, in the transition from the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school to other schools. The new experiences after leaving the family school and the fig tree, put people in the middle of new or lived situations, illustrated in a second moment. It is clear that banking teaching (Freire, 1970) provokes discussion with this singular school shape, as I describe in a third moment. Finally, we will look at some statements regarding aspects of the singular school shape, statements by those who seek to orientate themselves in the system.

Condemning or strange...

Three students of Voz do Operário da Ajuda find strange with some of the rituals embedded in the school shape they encounter when they leave their first school. Milene Afonso talks about the military alignment imported into the school:

> "I had a math teacher, for example, who made us do things like line up outside the classroom, and I thought: *'but what is this?'*, *'where am I?'*."

Francisco Neto observes the lack of connection to high school, where he seeks to become primary school teacher himself:

> "I remember feeling that there was not the slightest bit of relationship, I didn't feel like a person, in college, because there was no relationship between

> people, in the slightest, and I remember that it shocked me, I was shocked, and that was it."

For Milene Afonso, the difference in the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda also lies in the type of relationship between people:

> "The drastic differences I felt were at the level of relationships, especially with the teachers. Hmm, anyway, all people are different, here too. I recognise that I had some very good teachers, but in any case, there was, in fact, an... ***abysmal*** difference with the type of relationship we had at Voz do Operário [...] 'you' does not exist, we don't treat the people in the corridors by you, let alone the teachers."

Milene also mentions that it was like taking away everything she felt comfortable with, in addition to freedom. This feeling of freedom was felt in Voz do Operário da Ajuda, including in the way the written word was used, not in a normalised and grammaticalised way, but to tell life and to write events. Irene Pires comments:

> "For the verb tenses, I don't know what the teaching was. I know I think I speak well Portuguese, I think I write well in verbal terms, but it's something that I know instinctively... that it's not an instinct, it's a manufactured thing, but (...) I, intuitively, get the verb right, without knowing if it is a past perfect tense or whatever it is. Okay, the gerund is easy. And that was also something very shocking [for the others]: when I entered [the 5th year]: how could I not say that, and it's something that today I don't miss at all, I think, because I have a solid foundation of my language."

The standardised and prescribed school shape, of which Lahire (2008, p. 41) makes a short history, has antecedents in French mutual schools, where children are divided into 8 homogeneous classes. There they learn to pronounce the letter first, then the syllable, then the word, then the sentence. Once someone knows what they need to know in their letter class, they can move on to the next and repeat the monitoring on syllables and words. When they reach the sentence phase (5th stage) they read the posted sentences. For writing the same thing happens. There are eight training classes, and when achieving the eighth class they will be able to copy sentences, far from being able to express their own ideas. And before getting to the copy there is a long practice of strokes of equal length, connections between letters and letters of the same height.

It suffices to compare the documentary collection of Voz do Operário da Ajuda from the '80s-'90s with the training manuals at the time widely used in primary schools to understand Irene Pires' statement that it should not be too difficult to agree with Anatole France, who would have exclaimed, looking at the work meticulously prepared and divided into tasks, typical of school rituals, at the time *"to be amazed that*

so much painful exercise is needed to learn a language that I learned quite well with my mother" (Lahire, 2008, p. 43).

... and in the middle of it, the self...

Changing school can, as we have seen, provoke some strangeness and even some revolt in relation to the school shape of the institutions to which Voz do Operário da Ajuda students migrate. However, more than intervention, six testimonies — half of which about after primary school — reveal an adaptation, the result of several factors. Ricardo Azevedo[43] tersely mentions "I met other teachers, other friends, so there were no friends who went with me to another school."

Jorge Carvalho already knew the 2nd cycle school because:

> "... I used to go to Belenenses gymnastics; it was held in a pavilion, over at the Paula Vicente school, where I went later, I left here and went to the Paula Vicente school. I remember, in general, I can say, I have very good memories."

The adaptation takes place, even if the first notes cause some apprehension. Jorge Carvalho continues:

> "I remember that, at school, I was assiduous, dutiful, punctual maybe not that much, but it wasn't so much because of me, more because of my parents. All I know is that when I moved to the 5th grade, I had some difficulties in Portuguese. In the first period of the 5th year, I had a *two*. And I was sad, obviously, I was continually a good student, I had 3, 4, 5, in several subjects, it was the first time I had had a *two*. But then I recovered in the 3rd period, I already had 4."

Those who experienced the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda seem to be trying to adapt it to what they will find in the "other school" even in advance, as Francisco Neto did in relation to the manuscript. He reinforces that:

> "Already anticipating the departure of Voz do Operário — and we all had to leave one day and we had to go to the fifth year — we were also aware that the fifth year was not going to be like that, that it was not going to have that organisation."

Milene Afonso considers migration to be a kind of accommodation, easier when there is time to change between the regime of single teaching and multi-teaching, as was the case of her younger brother, who left Voz do Operário da Ajuda in year in which she entered the 2nd cycle:

> "It's not that 'great adaptation difficulty' but sometimes some tensions, at least that's how I felt it, not necessarily reaching the end, but that I felt a confrontation with reality, of not being able to do certain things, or, finally, [to

[43] Class T6, between 1991 and 1995.

do] things that were strange to me."

Raul Bento restricts the adaptation to one topic: homework. And says:

> "I don't remember what it was like to get used to doing homework. I think it must not have been very easy (laughs), I don't think anyone likes it very much (laughs). I don't know what else I retain from this change."

Lastly, Sheila Castro does not speak of adaptation, but of the new appropriation she made of the school that gave her the greatest pleasure twice and for different reasons:

> "The best moments, it is indisputable: it was certainly that fourth grade, when I returned to like to go to school, and it was from that year onwards, later back at Lyceum Passos Manuel, when I decided I wanted to go to college."

Here, a singular school shape allowed people to organise their life path, despite the school's rituals having distanced them from the will to be at school and to learn.

The strength of banking education

Sheila Castro is not alone in this relationship that is sought to be built with the school world. A third of the fifteen former students who reflect on the transition speak of the encounter with a school shape including the *banking model* (Freire) in a normative grammar of schooling. Associated with a critical evaluation, they consider it as the model to which they had to adapt, even if it was just the time needed to survive in the system:

> "I was not familiar with the assessment methods, I remember thinking that this was going to be extremely easy, because, when they told me for the first time in a period of taking two, three tests, I thought, that the final note in that subject was the sum of the three, so I thought it was only necessary to have 25% in each one ... I thought, I don't even need that much..."
>
> (Raul Bento).

Milene Afonso understands that "at school level, I really realised that I had many deficits". To continue:

> "When I left Voz do Operário I was extremely confident, in myself, and in my abilities, in my achievements, in what I could do alone, and in what I knew how to help others to do, and what we could do together, and I suddenly realised that none of that... counted."

She considers that the conflict between the two ways of doing school has harmed her in some respects:

> "In mathematics, in terms of reasoning, I think I continue to have a very practical level of reasoning. Whenever we move to the abstract question, I

lack simple math rules."

Irene Pires observes the transition from one school model to another. She reveals that she had the capacity to respond to the school's requirement its students should regurgitate what is presented to them:

> "Sometimes, in [King] dynasties, I get lost; when I went to the second cycle, it was a shocking thing for my colleagues, and the teachers too, as I didn't know all that by heart. Ready to say. And at that time, when I had history, the hard line of a [classical] school popped up: I had to memorise it. These are things that today, I don't remember. But then, at the time, I managed to get away with it."

Accompanying this statement, when Irene Pires was at the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school, two American mathematicians wrote:

> "*Preparing for various tests has become an important industry. In many medical schools, whose students have to pass a national exam at the end of the first two years, students are substantially trained in strategies for solving such tests. Wouldn't these students' future patients be better served if the exam were canceled and the extra time used for pharmacology or anatomy?* "
>
> (Davis and Herch, [1986] 1997, p. 110).

They demonstrate how the indiscriminate use of tests and exams has the only practical effect of stratifying the population in relation to pre-established norms and *standards based on criteria external to this same population* ***(Davis and Herch, 1997, p. 103-118).*** It meets the processes of training and control carried out on students, present in the school shape of social relations with subject-objects, which derives from Lassallian schools and the "***écoles mutuelles"*** (***Lahire ,*** 2008), different from the pedagogical relationship that stands out in the Voz do Operário da Ajuda.

Revealing here is the experience with time. If at the Voz do Operário da Ajuda, school time was basically divided into three blocks, two of 90 minutes and one of 120 minutes, in a schedule that facilitates the management of activities and projects, such as ***plan work***, Carla Gouveia[44] says, that in the school after Voz do Operário da Ajuda, "my problem was to, during 90 minutes, always, always paying attention, this for me was unthinkable. This is still the case today, therefore, the problem of concentration and having a ten-minute break and then having to come back soon."

The confrontation with the ferocious rituals of the school shape that Milene Afonso will encounter after Voz do Operário da Ajuda, even makes her doubt the importance of the lessons learned: "it is not that what I eventually knew would not be necessarily important, I suppose it was important, but maybe it wasn't enough, and I think it really

[44] Class T7, between 1995 and 1999

wasn't enough."

The confrontation with the school shape of social relations with subject-objects leads to the deduction that there are deficits that are revealed by the lack of ability to recite memorised information or to carry out standardised writing rituals. In her specific case, she assumes that she was never very interested in memorising, and that this was not required of her in her first school either. Unlike her and her parents, she says that

> "there was a certain time when [her friend's] parents realised our great deficits, especially in terms of Portuguese, and I noticed, for example, that J. left 4th grade knowing the multiplication table, because her parents forced her to recite the multiplication table, as well as making copies at home and things like that. These copies were corrected..."

Among all those interviewed, Milene Afonso is the only person who exhaustively compares the ways of acting at Voz do Operário da Ajuda and at the other schools she has been to, using terms such as *deficit* and *gaps.* In the remaining interviews that refer to the pedagogical paradigm of instruction in the school shape that they will find in the 2nd cycle, a certain indifference can be observed in relation to something that is considered to be evident that it exists.

However, Carla Gouveia notes that even when the management of space and time was different, there was always room for intervention:

> "Either us or the teacher in charge of the class, every month or so called. We got together, which ended up also making me feel a little like Voz do Operário. Also, if there was a problem, we could still intervene... And that, all at the same time..."

Among the testimonies, Selma Belo makes a comment that contributes to the debate about the problematisation of the school in its shape:

> "As I said, I did not find, later on, any teacher, any school, any institution that had these teaching methods, these teaching practices, no. It's very stipulated, very programmed, everything is very debited, everything is very... and I think that more and more, we need practical things for our day-to-day life, and there are many things that we learn, that we didn't even retain as important. [...] And as times are also changing, I think teaching should keep up, I think it's very important and it hasn't happened."

Selma Belo undoubtedly looks at a school reality in which there is little interest on the part of decision-makers for a change of form, but rather for the maintenance of an organisation with a hierarchical pedagogical relationship, of a factory according to a pre-defined mould.

... orienting oneself in the system.

In general, the interviewees were guided by the school organisation they were encountering, even with the differences in its shape, as shown here. The unique school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda facilitated the interpretation of the school system as a whole and its relationship with the schooled society, for the six interviewees who talk about how they oriented themselves in it.

Irene Querido[45] recognises the school project where she took the 2nd and 3rd cycle as another pilot and talks about her university path. Tomás Prata[46] talks about the importance of the school where he continued to study until the ninth grade, after a short stay at another school in the 5th grade, to then move on to computing. With another path, this is also what happened to Ricardo Azevedo:

> "I kept changing schools, after Voz do Operário I went to the Francisco de Arruda school, then I went to the David Mourão Ferreira school. And then I went to Josefa d'Óbidos. Then I went to some institutions, to CRINABEL, AFID and APPCDM[47]. ***Me*:** And you learned to work with computers, didn't you? ***Ricardo:*** Yes, yes, but I liked to do other things, without being a computer. Because my dream is to be a telenovela actor. I wish someone would support someone with trisomy 21 like I have. There was a soap opera on SIC, "*Coisas da vida*", there was a [character] who also had trisomy 21 and played one of the characters in that soap opera. But this telenovela was Brazilian. I liked having this profession. And I studied papers and things like that. I liked doing that more. The computer thing, I work for my brother, so I end up having a computer to work with."

Fernanda Queirós explains that she learned, also outside school, when she entered the 5th year of schooling, namely in the area of music. She continued to do parallel training even when she was at university. Lastly, Sheila Castro talks about her return to Voz do Operário da Graça, where she attended the 2nd and 3rd cycles. She considers "the transition to the 5th year to be a bit complex, I think for any student, because he changes from one teacher to a series of subjects" and mentions the fascination of starting to take English classes.

There seems to be a willingness to compare by whom came into contact with the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda and later with the school shape of social relations with subject-objects, which is transmissive and hierarchical. They do so in relation to specific aspects in the singular shape itself, as between them.

They find the other way they are discovering strange and try to place themselves in

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[45] Class T3, between 1987 and 1991

[46] Class T3, between 1987 and 1991

[47] Institutions working with young people with trisomy 21.

the new organisation they find in an attempt not to get lost. They end up, in the testimonies they leave, by showing they adopt the new rules. Questioning the usefulness of some teaching rituals characterised by the Freirean term, as "banking" they do not fail to "play the game" and respond to the requests made to them. They are guided by the indications they receive or read in the school shape they find.

As this shape seems strange, what shape is to question?

Could it be that, finding the encountered school shape strange, but at the same time adopting it, those who do so, incorporate the learning processes that they experienced in the singular school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda in relation to the knowledge and power that is built within of the school institution? Are the school socialisation processes they experienced and the exercise of power they experienced different from what they find? Are they carriers of questioning?
I have grouped the observations I found in interviews with former students under three headings. In *The right to prepare differently* I address the legitimacy attributed to the school to opt for a singular school shape to which it obliges students. In other words, it recognises the right for teachers to do things differently with young people who will necessarily be put in the schooled society and in one of the main institutions supported by it and which it supports. In *Obligation to be a school* we hear the critical voice of two people who wonder if the school of Voz do Operário da Ajuda really forced itself to be a school. In *Anchored in life* seven people tell us about what they point out as an added value, namely the relationship established between the school and the surrounding world, in a clear renunciation of the school model that closes in on itself, externalising the entire approach of knowing about the lives and context of the learners who are in it.

The right to prepare differently?

As we will see later on, there are routines in the class-groups that allow children to organise themselves in their work, autonomously, supported by adults. Rita Silves explains:

> "And this was very good, because now, now in college (...) it is a bit complicated to define what I need to study and the fact that in primary school I got used to not having a teacher ordering the homework, not having a teacher saying today is mathematics, tomorrow is Portuguese, this makes it easier, now in university, to be able to divide the study into all the subjects. Because now the teacher doesn't even know our name, we're a number, walking around, we don't have a name, we're nothing, and it's now that this, this responsibility that I acquired when I was younger, is having a great effect. Because I notice that I'm not one of those people who arrives on the eve of the exam and I still have to study. Things are already there, everything is already underway. I arrive on the eve of

> the exam and I'm already much more rested, which is good.
> And, from primary school, we learned... in terms of study, this was very good, to plan work."

Not being a number: Fernanda Queirós remembers how important it was to always be valued at work. Now she is a music teacher herself, she says:

> "Hmm, this was something that really formed me as a person... that I am very careful with the children, with whom I work, not *always undervalue* what they do. Or always being valued. Sometimes it's teachers' fatigue, I understand perfectly. But for example, knowing the children's names..., I work with more than 200 children a week, and I know all their names. It is an effort that I make, knowing how to recognise them and really, I think that was significant."

For Tomás Duarte, the relationship that makes the difference is in some details: "the fact that we weren't sitting at a desk, from 8 o'clock on in front of a teacher, was right away a big difference". It is a difference that is etched in the memory of those who claim not to remember much that was done at school. Tomás Prata tells that he had a lot of difficulties in finding a school for his daughter, where he could find an equivalent education, and he observes:

> "Surreal, what they charge for a minimally acceptable school. [...] And it wasn't like that at the time, which makes me somewhat satisfied, and semi-unhappy for her, because it will be difficult for her to have a school experience like we had, but not many people have either. They did, so I congratulate you on making it."

Milene Afonso contradicts Rita Silves' opinion about self-employment. She observes:

> "And the truth is that no one ever really insisted that we memorise the multiplication table. Then maybe I regretted it later, because my math teacher comes to bother me about it, but, and then still today, I don't know the multiplication table. If someone asks me how much is, how much 2 x 2 is, I'm capable of saying, obviously, it doesn't even take me a little longer than someone who has memorised it, but at least I know how the calculation is done, isn't it."

And for Rita Silves, it is precisely this knowledge of how things are done that gives value to the work that was done at Voz do Operário da Ajuda. There were obvious situations for her:

> "I remember in the 5th year, working on the unknowns, and there were many colleagues who, for example, we finished an exercise were x was 3, so they thought that in all the other exercises, the x was always 3."

Rita adds that, given the ease *she* understood the reasoning, "the 5th grade teacher said that I could understand that, because when I was little they had opened my mind a

lot and that I had a very open mind" attributing this fact to the type of mathematical discoveries she made with the class group, at times led by the adult, at times combined with times of autonomous work.
It would be abusive to consider that this type of interaction with knowledge is directly related to the singular school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda. On the other hand, national and international reports that review the state of the Portuguese education system reveal that there are few practices in which children are placed even at the center of the action, recommending less instructional approaches (*Santiago et al, 2012)*.

Obligation to be a school?

The question seems strange. How is seen by those who were students in Voz do Operário da Ajuda the singular school shape? I only found the question about school obligations in conversations with Milene Afonso and Tomás Duarte.
Milene Afonso observes*, a posteriori,* the contrast between the school shape of her first school and the 2nd cycle school and recalls:

> "In fact, I felt literally thrown into the wild, I went parachuting into something I wasn't at all prepared for. And I wasn't prepared on other levels either, and that's where my biggest criticism lies. Because then yes, I realised my deficits. Because at Voz do Operário I always felt very valued."

She attributes the difficulty of transition she felt to Voz do Operário da Ajuda and not to the school where she would attend the 2nd cycle, as it was the first one deviating from the norm:

> "I think that sometimes they failed, they failed, particularly with me, and I mean, with me in particular. I had a lot of difficulties, that is, speaking from a post-Voz do Operário perspective. I had many difficulties, not necessarily adapting."

She argues the lack of preparation in the adaptation she felt, using her brother's path, who went through another school of the 1st cycle, classic, between Voz do Operário da Ajuda and the 2nd cycle, even so not "that rigid and that mass school" which provided him with an "easier entry into another context, another reality".
Tomás Duarte considers that "he was much more involved in class, he was always talking, sometimes excessively" and in this he was different from other colleagues. He adds: "If this was good, at one point, I think so." He thinks that his performance in Portuguese Language was never very good and if, on the one hand, there is a possibility of "having a little bit of dyslexia, [„] I think I'm also a little lazy in my way of writing, and it may have been because I learned to write, the way I have." Besides, he sees the difference between the calm environment where he came from and the environment of a large school in Amadora, which he says: "in terms of social reality it is

much harder, I had my friends and everything that happened to me, also happened to others", knowing that he was no "poor thing", but that reality was different. It is characterised by the large number of homework assignments and the number of times he had been stolen, as early as the fifth year. With regard to writing Tomás' classmate Milene Afonso notices that, when reviewing her workbooks from the 5th and 6th grades,

> "I have things... a dreadful thing... I made spelling mistakes, which today I almost can't understand what I wanted to write. I can't understand what I was writing, that is, not having... it's not so much a question of grammar, in fact, a question of spelling, I don't know how the words were spelled."

She never had to repeat a school year, but considers that "eventually I didn't get as good grades as I probably deserved ". And further observes:

> "I don't know if they taught other Portuguese lessons, not just the ones we were supposed to work on, I don't know if Dora does. But I recognise that it hurt me a lot."

What Milene Afonso and Tomás Duarte focus on is the different way in which students' productions and their work rhythms are looked at in the context of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school shape and in the school shape led by instruction. Permitted differentiation seems to oppose a more impersonal treatment of each other's school affairs. The question remains whether it is not to be assumed that those who take a different approach do not have to pay great attention to situations of potential vulnerability in which they place children when changing schools. Does sustainability not also depend on the way in which differences are clearly worked with students?

An observation by Clarisse Rosa[48] can be interpreted as if in Voz do Operário da Ajuda everyone distanced themselves from the hegemonic school shape, identified here as the public school:

> "... when I left for public education, I realised that the ideas I had about public education also did not correspond very much to what actually happened [there] because they came from a group that gave me this information, from a very restricted group, and who looked at all things with the same eyes, and I think that different eyes are also important."

Could it be that the involvement that the teachers knew existed on the part of mothers and fathers, associated with the pedagogical relationship that they sought to develop at every moment and that is evident in the documentation and in the collection of memories of the group of people interviewed, seemed enough to them

[48] Teacher at Voz do Operário da Ajuda from 1982 to 1984 and from 1986 to 1989.

for the children to appropriate the rituals in the school shape they found after leaving their first school where rituals were different? Could it be that, confident of the school shape and the pedagogical relationship that it allowed in Voz do Operário da Ajuda, they assume that school things would be related to things in life, including the appearance of other schools in and of each one's life?

Anchored in life

As already mentioned, for Vincent, Thin and Lahire (1994), the school is, among other characterisations, a place of experimentation with ways of exercising power and a place where effects of lasting social relations are produced.
Vítor Abreu draws a parallel between his work and his ongoing training at the time of the interview and what comes to mind from the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school. When he talks about the concept of responsibility, he says:

> "I think that in the job where I am ends up being a lot of this, and, (...) one of the activities in the master's degree that I am developing in London, is free improvisation, and this..., there are many political issues within this type of activities, which remind me a little of the way things were done back in school, where ... that, that question of no one controlling you, but of being aware, supposedly — at the time maybe it wasn't that so much, because we were children — but we had to be well aware of the things we did, and we were given such greater responsibility, but also at the same time, there weren't so many rules..., there weren't rules so... rigid perhaps, yes rigid."

The homogeneity that is sought for school organisation is not to be naturally found in and between companies, just as it is not in schools. However, this constant unfulfilled desire to 'slice' society into homogeneous pieces, and which is inculcated in the hegemonic school shape, to then administer normalised knowledge to a normalised group, seems to exist outside school as well. It promotes as if there were a single (and false) thought in relation to institutions and in the relationship between people and institutions. Schooled society lives in a wide fantasy of achieving standards of normalisation and generalised homogeneity, that anyhow it does not reach. Focused on the unattainability of it, society remains often blind to the complementary diversity that is in plain sight.
The school of Voz do Operário da Ajuda is presented in the memoirs as a place that is not isomorphic to a place of teaching, but is to a place of learning. And in this aspect, it is easier for to be related to the world around the school and to anchor in life. As Rita Silves mentions, when she talks about moving to another school,

> "I remember the 5th grade: I had a much bigger sense of the world than most colleagues — I knew what was going on in the rest of the world, and other people had a lot of trouble figuring it out: for them it was ***them-home-school***;

> it was just that, their world. Our world was bigger. I remember talking with Sara and Margarida, the concerns with Africa, and with the children from Africa, which other people found absurd. I was used to dealing with people for whom ***this*** it was essential, for those who made all the difference. And this was what in the Voz we learned."

As mentioned, Francisco Neto, looking for his study desires, when he reaches higher education, finds strange the impersonal way of work and:

> "here comes to me that energy that we also had in Voz do Operário, of intervening, of civic duty, of wanting to change things for the better, and then, in the faculty of sciences, for two years, when I was there, I did not *one* chair, what I did was invest a lot in the student union, and invest a lot in student demonstrations; convincing people to go to demonstrations, to change the world (laughs) and I remember that I was very passionate about this, the issue of getting people to change things."

Today he is a primary school teacher and says: " I came to the conclusion that my energy was much better spent working with primary school children, in terms of changing the world, albeit with fewer people."

Change is recurrently present in the testimonies. Fernanda Queirós, Sheila Castro, Selma Belo and Tomás Prata also reveal their paths, which come from reflections on the organisation of work and elements of this same work. It facilitates their study and work choices, and the responsibilities they assume wherever they are working.

However, the work present in school memories as well as in people's memories is certainly not the same for everyone, except for some established routines that everyone goes through in rotation.

At this point, I tried to understand how the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* appears in memories and how the singular school shape is interpreted. More than a proposal for moving on to the next school, one of Lasalle's or Démia's stages, there is a proposal to create learning content. These learning contents are related to the interpretation of the world, in which the other school by normative grammar, appears to all children, including those who were in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. Some consider that *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* made their relationship with other schools more difficult. However, in general terms, it is considered that the approach of gestation of well-being and appropriation of space facilitated the "pedagogised" socialisation, the interpretation of the world and its readability.

The learning of 'many with many'

The questions

How is the organisational intention of the students' work evidenced? To what extent is this evidence congruent with students' memories? What does this contribute to the discussion of school shape?

A singularity in relation to the school shape, in the vast majority of testimonies, is that, instead of, in the class of ***many students being taught as if they were one***, as Barroso (2004, p. 53) evokes in his texts, there is a learning of many-with-many and not an instruction one-to-many. Obviously, there are moments directed by teachers, witnessed as moments of discussion, interaction and systematisation. Collective work in small groups is omnipresent. Everyone, children and adults, witness moments of work with meaning, which involves them, which is also perceived through the analysis of the documents.

I observe the way of organising the work in *Working in groups at school*. Organisation variants are analysed in *The teachers' option* and *Methods*. It is mainly about options and generic interpretations of the relation with work. Any associated didactic means are discussed in the following subchapter.

Working in groups at school

I have grouped under this title the information identified by the keywords *group activities, collective work, group work, classroom work* and *homework,* which emerge from the whole collection of memories.

The work carried out at school takes place simultaneously in the classroom, in the playground and in the basement when the group is involved in individual activities, in pairs or in small groups, which, as we will see later on, are guided by joint planning whereupon the each one makes an individual planning. When the work is collective, and within the walls of the school, it takes place in one of these spaces, where the whole group gathers. It is normally the type of collective work that determines the place of its realisation.

Work on the wharf.

Analysing photographs and moments filmed in the classroom, it is clear that a substantial part of the available time allows everyone to develop their work and their projects. There is always a social commitment with the group, as we will see later on[49]. The collective grants time, material and space to individuals or groups of individuals, that is, the work done is presented to everyone.

[49] See page 191 *"A work organisation"* .

For the T6 class, for example, there are close to 80 books written or dictated to the teacher throughout the first year of schooling, when the children are learning to read and write. They are, for the most part, invented stories with titles such as *The Crazy Cat* (Inês), *Rita and the Mouse* (Rita), *The Care Bears* (Catarina and Tânia), *The Turtles go to the Mainland* (João Paulo), *The imagined codfish* (Ricardo), *Parents and children with very fast cars* (Vítor).

In the T3 class, the inkt press was still frequently used, so there were texts on display, such as Pedro's, who reports a trip to Moimenta da Beira, Rita's, who talks about her experiences at the hospital or Paulo's, who, still not released from the normalised classroom of the previous school, presents *The winter*. It is in this class that there are also production workshops, such as those found in Institutional Pedagogy, which include the calculation of the cost of production, enabling the sale of the article made, in order to replace the material used with the money earned. Sales take mainly place during the Magusto and the end of year festivities, as we will see. The class shows the work done, as Vítor Abreu reminds:

> "Regarding the things on the wall, I rem... ach..., they were all works that we did at school, I remember that we were very involved, they were art works, paintings, cutouts, we had cardboard. I think there were also some clay things. We worked sometimes with clay and that and we created some objects, hmm, more..."

Many of the artistic activities took place throughout the day, each one working individually or in small groups, alternating with skill training and project work. Teacher Julieta Lopes says in this regard:

> "In addition to the boring worksheets, which they had to do, in the plan, they had other activities, painting, tapestry, clay, that's it, these things ..."

There was investment in production and as Sheila Castro says:

> "There was something related to the theater, which I tried to do, drawing, and arts... there was something that at first I was afraid to do, it was wood, and there was a little thing to burn wood, I was afraid at first afraid to do it, and then when I wanted to do it, there was no time left."

One of the results of this *pyrography* workshop is a rich burned drawing made little by little by one of the girls in room T3. In addition to the paintings and drawings that accompany the moments of sale during the Magusto festival, there are also clay objects. In one of the rooms we can see a 1988 photograph of a shelf, under one of the windows, with objects ready to be painted, which will happen, in the moments that Clarisse Rosa, speaking of the period up to 1989, tries to identify as:

> "... what today is called autonomous work time, I don't know exactly what it was called then, but we called it the plan time at the time, I don't think it was

called that [autonomous work]."

For this purpose, the classroom features several workspaces that facilitate this time of autonomous work. From the space of the T2 class mentioned here, one can see the computer space, as early as 1988 and a central work space. The images are congruent with what we can observe from the T5 and T6 classes that are organised together in the two rooms they have at their disposal to work in small groups, some planning, others discussing a text, and still others in front of the computer writing a text. The children are observed working on their tasks while the teachers work in pairs with someone. When one of the children needs support, the teacher is called by name. Whenever children finish a task, they write down what they did on a sheet in their dossier.

The mediation made by the teacher, says Clarisse Rosa, was not always easy:

> "I remember the management of those moments very well because they were moments [in which] I ended up feeling that I had difficulties in reaching everyone, because then there were also some problems there."

The diversified, organised, individual or group work, with the teacher or a colleague as tutor, is remembered by many as a group activity. Irene Querido says when she talks about what she considers school work: "I have very concrete images of the mathematics part and our exercises and notebooks and our books, and ... activities on the computer, I also remember group activities ".

Carla Gouveia also sees more intentionality on the part of the teacher when it comes to mathematics:

> "Once in a while, maybe to solve something, we could be divided: Well, you, this table [group] does it like this... no, it was with you that in the math work, we were like that, it was to discover those problems. .. And then it was Tiago Barata who always found out (burst of laughter)."

Milene Neves says it clearly: "we always worked in groups, we never sit in that traditional way, facing the teacher, and this also stuck with me ... "

And the way to sit down, to form the groups depended on several factors, in the words of Milene Afonso: " [to] help colleagues, I think we even had a criterion about that. It was something about helping classmates, if I'm not mistaken. Yes, therefore, it was helping a colleague, for example, with a certain difficulty."

When it came to research related to environment studies, the choice of group was left more to the children's discretion than the adult's. Says Judite Pinheiro:

> "I remember a work done on the dunes. This one, for me, I loved, because a huge model was made, and we managed to do everything, it was really true in my head: the heathers, and the sand, and essentially the research work on the dunes, the structure of the dunes, the height , and a few more things, the

> stuff about the dunes, all this stuff about the dunes. I don't remember why the dunes. I just remember it was over the dunes."

Julieta Lopes states that environmental studies in the form of project work "never had a plan. What happened was what one saw.. Always in a group. There was a big trunk, they discussed that big trunk, which could be subdivided, and each group chose where they wanted to go."

The T3 class is organised in the same way as the corresponding Belgian class with which the class eventually met. Children and adults make an overview of possible activities, related to the meeting of the two classes and with the exhibition planned for the school community on the last day of the Portuguese's stay at the Belgian school. Afterwards, the small groups organise themselves, mixing or not between classes. In the video recording, we observe a Portuguese girl working with Belgian children and some Portuguese boys organising a music workshop together.

At other times, the collectivisation of findings allows for an enriched discussion of the problem under discussion, both in terms of mathematical learning and reading and writing. We observe the T5 and T6 classes discussing the edges of solids, in small groups. In a long recording a class can be seen working around equivalence of fractions with Dora Agostinho, in which moments of discussion in a small group alternate with moments of collectivisation of information and confrontation of hypotheses. Class T7 is in 1995 in the first year of schooling. With Julieta Lopes, children discover the writing code. They build and rebuild stories. So we see Melissa Lousada[50] with two colleagues ordering three sentences of a story, to read them aloud to the other children in the class who check with the teacher if the given order corresponds with the story originally created by everyone, the from an initial report by one of the children. The set of invented stories or news that reached the class also served as the basis for the publication of collections under the name of Class Paper and, presumably from 1992 on the School Paper. From the T3 class I found, in my personal estate, a collection of class newspapers with the title "Os catraios". Number 1 presents 5 texts, 2 of which are illustrated, all printed with the class press and by 5 different authors. Number 2 presents 6 texts, two of which are illustrated, by 5 different authors. There are 5 informative texts, related to small day-to-day events. The sixth has the contours of a classic essay. Number 3 presents six texts, all printed with the class press, and by 6 different authors. Number 4 again has 6 texts, by six different authors, all printed with the class press. No. 5 has a new format: it changed from a vertical A5 to a horizontal A5 and alternates texts produced in school typography with texts printed on the computer. The newspaper is less careful, it contains 7 texts, by 7 different authors. Numbers 1 and 2 of the newspaper "Os

[50] T7 class between 1995 and 1999. Interviewee nº 21

catraios – 4 º grade" complete this set. Each issue presents 7 texts, always by 7 different authors. While the first returns to the vertical A5 format, containing three computer-printed texts, the second has the horizontal A5 format and also presents a copied text with the 'limographe'.

Joint works and discussions

Many documents show moments of collective work and collective discussions as support for children's learning. In my personal collection I found a set of problems suggested to children in the T7 class, aged 5 or 6 at the time, based on events in the classroom such as representing the way from school to the post office, sending a letter to correspondents, analysing logical statements. Other occurrences discussed in group are related to the analysis of the attendance map and the organisation of work teams for the annual Magusto celebration. When someone brings sweets to distribute among colleagues, it is discovered that in order to make an equitable distribution among all, the unit has to be divided. This discovery is made by going to the essence of the problem, simplifying the situation:

> *"10.91.*
> *We have 2 candies for 4 colleagues. We split the candies in half. (the poster features a drawing of two sweets, each with a diagonal line across it).*
> – *each person gets half a candy;*
> – *each person gets a piece of candy;*
> – *each candy is cut into 2 parts;*
> – *each person gets one of the two parts.*
> – *We write: each person gets ½ of a candy.*
> *(result of the discussion around the problem of Monday, 2.12.91)"*

In the same way, another piece of information from a collective discussion is used to present the situation of the children's deciduous teeth, here referenced as milk teeth in the class in a bar graph:

> *"06.02.1992*
> *Milk teeth that have already fallen out*
> (The poster has a graph with the name of each of the children in the room and the number of teeth that each one says they have already lost, ranging from 0 for Catarina to 6 for Rita and Tânia. Next to the graph, we read:)
> *Our questions.*
> 1. *Tânia lost how many more teeth than Vítor ?*
> 2. *How many teeth fell out altogether (in our class)?*
> 3. *Who lost more teeth ?*
> 4. *How many children have the smallest number of teeth fall out ?*
> 5. *And how many teeth were that? "*

Some documents show moments of planned work with the aim of establishing mathematical concepts. A record of the discovery of squares and rectangles on the geo-board, defined by the number of nails they inscribe, suggests discussions about the representation of these geometric figures on the surface; the grid recording in a table of the distribution of carrots planted as a function of the number of rabbits sharing the same carrots among themselves, prepares the representation of multiplication as a continuous sum of equal plots. Many of these works are accompanied by records posted on the wall of the room, as well as support material for collective and individual work, based on collective discussions, such as the explanation of the use of conceptualisation material such as cuisenaire bars, the Papy mini calculator, or the use of Venn diagrams.

From the joint work between the T3 and T4 classes, there is an outline of an article or a communication about the mental calculation contests around the multiplication table, containing examples of the type of challenges launched by the teachers, identified by Clarisse Rosa as the multiplication table contest:

> "I even think that the multiplication tables contest was something that took five to ten minutes, after the balance, and I think it helped, they took it — I don't remember what it was like — but they took it seriously. "

The exploration of a problem goes through collective discussion alternating with individual work, as we can see in the T3 class, which seeks to understand what causes the speed of a car to vary on an inclined plane. In class T7, we observed the decomposition of the number 15 into unequal parts, when some children and the teacher decided to offer apples to the children in the class.

As for mathematics, there are also samples of collective work in the area for registering findings in Portuguese language learning. The many records of stories, collective texts and text notebooks of the classes show a collective work of writing production about which I will speak later[51]. In the initial phase of the reading and writing process, the news and stories of the children themselves are analysed together, thus discovering word, syllables and letters. From a group of Dora Agostinho, we follow the collective work of improving a text written by two colleagues. After reading, there is a short moment in which spelling doubts are cleared, followed by the moment in which the ideas of the text are discussed and reorganised, to make it clearer. But there are situations in which production itself also appears as a collective activity. In the collection related to the T3 class, there are the texts of the theater invented by all those who are part of the class. The play is performed at the Correspondents' School, from which some excerpts remain. About this piece, Selma Belo says:

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[51] See " The social use of reading and writing" .

> "I remember we had a play, directed by the teacher, which was... it was related to nature, there were songs too, by Zeca Afonso, birds, I have a vague idea. It's just that I represented a tree (laughs), so that's how I participated."

Theater was a recurring activity in that class, and about the following year, Sheila Castro says:

> "Euh, I remember that we sang a lot, and we did theater, we did a series of other activities, which allowed us to learn various things, ..."

Some of the filmed images show that the singing is not always related to a specific work, but that is part ritual of presentations is maintained at the end of the school year as occurs in many private schools and in the presence of the fathers and mothers. In the Voz do Operário da Ajuda documents show this took place at the playground and involved all children, from pre-school to 4th grade. The preparation of these rituals required other collective moments. We observe in a photograph from 1993, the T5 and T6 classes, together with smaller colleagues, sitting in the playground, under the big fig tree, with a paper (a script?) in their hand, in front of one of the teachers, standing.

The systematic records of *novelties*, later *read, tell and show* appears to be ritual at the beginning of the day, help to understand how it is possible to anchor activities in the area of interest and development of each of the children. At this early moment of the day, there are those who read texts, those who present finished work or those who simply have something to tell. This regulated presentation allows to deepen subjects and learnings in specific moments. As we can see from a filmed moment in the T5 and T6 classes, a short planning meeting follows, in which the day work is organised among all.

In this meeting, it is defined what part of the day is reserved for collective work, directed by the teacher, and what time is available for autonomous work, individually, in pairs, or in small groups, under the responsibility of each one. The collective moments of work allow for other explorations directed by the adult, in some testimonies considered different from "giving" or "taking classes".

When, for example, a 6-year-old child tells, in the morning, that he was late for school because the car's engine wouldn't start, due to lack of water, there are those who question whether it shouldn't be "gasoline" instead of "water". The discussion that begins from there results in a simple observation: it will be necessary to observe the engine of Pascal's car to understand what materials and what liquids an engine can contain. There are situations in which the initial distribution of work on a project determines when to work collectively and when in groups. This is the case for an investigation that is born from the cutting of the fig tree, which in turn will give rise to the planning of the camp on Berlenga Island. A discussion with Julieta Lopes, which

she herself reports later on, will give rise to a work on the recent history of the country, with the title *From snails to fascism*. Some documents also show, as we will see later, collective moments of work, when the classes visit the outside world, or when guests are received in the classroom itself. An activity with constant collective moments will be, for the T3 group, the visit of Leuven, to personally meet and work with their Belgian correspondents. In the camps, the same happens: being in a group the whole day, there ends up being longer collective moments. The photographs of the T1 and T2 classes in Montachique are an example of this.

Several documents show the need to create extended collective moments conducted by adults when working with LOGO programming. The inclusion of this computer tool in the first cycle program clearly allows a very interesting approach to geometry and the use of number, in the micro-worlds Seymour Papert (1980) suggested, however, to go beyond a basic conceptualisation that is achieved more quickly with geo boards and cuisenaire rods, intensive moments of instruction are imposed, only possible if what is investigated has a very clear meaning for children and adults involved, due to its duration time.

Carla Garcia[52] makes the following reading of collective work in general:

> "... it's funny that I know that part of the work that was developed with those activities was to explain something, isn't it, it wasn't just us doing it..."

This statement is in line with the social commitment I mentioned[53]. This commitment includes the presentation of what has been done to the group. Generally, these moments of presentation and discussion allow learning, conceptualising or gaining competence in areas defined by the prescribed curriculum, which the school is subject to in its relationship with the society that institutes and organises it. Clarisse Rosa mentions:

> "There was this concern and at the time I ended up [organising with] them a study notebook on the environment that turned out to be their book on the study of the environment. In this notebook, and after presenting a work to the class, a survey was made of what was important in that work, and then each one could write beyond what was common, [...], what each one had learned about the work".

Jorge Carvalho puts the emphasis on commissioned work in collective moments, following the day's planning meeting:

> "We had assignments that the teacher gave. I remember there being assignments until the eleven o'clock break. Then, at eleven, we would have a

[52] Class T5, between 1990 and 1994.

[53] See Volume I: Contributions for a welcoming school.

short break, come back and work some more and have lunch in the room itself."

Julieta Lopes speaks about this commissioned work:

"They used the basement a lot, the space was very open, and I only demanded one thing from them: 'you're going to do this, bring it done, where and when, it's up to you.' Or they were at recess, also doing work."

It is not rare in the presented documentation to appear a certain insistence that the space-time at school is a work space-time. There are times when children are confronted with this requirement, especially when planning. Thus, when the T5 and T6 classes organise themselves to begin a study on the city of Lisbon, Julieta Lopes will insist with Tomás Duarte until he clearly defines what work he will develop. Faced with the constant change of ideas, she ended up asking: "Oh, Tomás , do you want to work or do you just want to go where the others go?".

And at home?

It has already been mentioned it was not customary to take work home. With work habits in the classroom, where, more than listening to adults, children are asked to produce and evaluate their production, homework seemed unnecessary. Francisco Neto tells how he compared his life with the lives of his neighbourhood friends:

"They all had a lot of homework, which was very boring, I remember that they suffered a lot with that, and that they tried to dodge it, but then they went home very sad to have to do school things. I remember knowing that afterwards they were often punished for that."

Only three of the twenty-four people interviewed talk about homework or not doing it, all former students, since none of the teachers mention the subject. If for Francisco Neto, the "annoying thing" would be having to do school things at home and even being able to risk being punished for poorly or not done work, for Milene Afonso, it seems to be the homework that appears as "punishment" whenever she did not end what was identified as the minimum plan:

"I rarely had homework, come on, once or twice I took some homework to do, because, from time to time I hadn't fulfilled the individual plan in the week, the minimum plan (...) We discussed it on Friday that I had to take some cards to do at home, but that this had happened many times, no."

But it is also Milene Afonso who reflects on the autonomy given to children that led some, including herself, to neglect the necessary training work:

"It shouldn't or couldn't be so, eh, leaving us in such an autonomous way. I think this was very positive for us, on some levels, but then it was just as harmful on others, well, if it were a scale, I don't know exactly what counts more..."

Milene Neves is inconclusive on the subject, experiencing a somewhat bizarre consequence of not having homework:

> "I remember not having homework, I also felt that as a huge failure, [...] I don't know, on the one hand it didn't have a great influence, except that when I got to school [second cycle], were I wanted to go do my homework (laughs), unlike all my classmates. I was the best student, that nurd who always wanted to do work impeccably."

On the other hand, she mentions, about the 4th year:

> "I remember Clarisse diverting things a little bit and saying '*you have to get ready now, let's do homework*'. I remember her writing TPC on the board and asking 'do you know what this?' and we: '***No***' (laughs) and I remember that, it was a ***fantastic***, wonderful thing, we were all happy I think..."

On the other hand, there are specific situations in which the weekend is included in the work routines. During a council meeting[54] with the T5 and T6 classes, Julieta Lopes announces that there will be an extra text reading session on Monday to replace a physical education class and to show this moment of work to some trainee teachers in the room, asking whoever wants to present texts to write them during the weekend. Class T5, however, seems to have adopted a work routine, in a manual of mathematics exercises that involves work at home for anyone who wishes to do so, so it is agreed, at the same meeting, to organise the work in this notebook in order to facilitate those who want to work proposals at home.
In a discussion with another class, Julieta Lopes states "No one has to work at home, you have to work here " to introduce a discussion about how to correct what is done outside the classroom.
Clearly, homework does not meet consensus among former students or former teachers.
In fact, in the choices they make, there are differences between teachers, even in methodological ways, as we will see below.

The teachers' option

As we have already seen, *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* seeks to establish a culture of intellectual work and manual work. Even if the school is not an educational complex of Pistrak, nor a production cooperative, there is a concern, in some classes, to make the class budget known to everyone. In classes T3 and T7, where I was a teacher, we find a registration form that helps to calculate the production price of objects that come out of artistic *ateliers*, called "productive *workshops".* The form was

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[54] Later on, I analyse in detail the sharing of power in the organisation of work, where the terms assembly and council meeting are addressed. See *"A Council called assembly"*.

included in the brochure *Our school*, but the practice is not mentioned by any of the teachers interviewed. It is also worth mentioning the group of teachers at the school in the year in which the brochure was produced and named on the back cover, do not have any of the interviewed teachers. It is the year after Clarisse Rosa left and immediately before Dora Agostinho joined. It also corresponds to the second leave to Guinea by Julieta Lopes.

Interschool correspondence does not carry the same weight for different teachers. While Clarisse Rosa's classes and the classes I worked with not only maintained an active correspondence with other classes, inside or outside the country, but also arranged to meet and, whenever possible, stay at the correspondents' homes, the testimonials from other classes are silent on this type of exchange. There may be different readings here about the institutionalisation of correspondence as a means to interact and get to know others. What makes Carla Garcia say:

> "I really enjoyed everything I did at Voz do Operário. However, there was something here, that [my brother] had been more privileged than me, because he had gone to Belgium, I had that thing, that Pascal's classes, it was like that! I had that image and I thought I had been really damaged not being with Pascal."

Camps or indoor camps are a constant, and all classes have gone through this experience. There seems to have been an evolution, in the sense that initially only the 3rd and 4th year classes camped, in the words of Francisco Neto, but that gradually involved more classes. If the camp in Portel in the 1990-1991 school year only involved the 3rd and 4th year classes, the camp in Montachique, in the 1986-1987 school year, involved, according to Clarisse Rosa, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th year classes.

The camp on *Ilha da Berlenga,* in the 1992-1993 school year, involved children from the 2nd and 3rd years of schooling, accompanied by Julieta Lopes and the corresponding group from Voz do Operário of Graça, according to information from a former student of one of those classes student who was not interviewed. Here, the camp arises for two reasons: first, because of the involvement of the T5 class with environmental issues, which the teacher introduces, reported in *After the fig tree was cut down, a lot happened!!!*[55] and which she claims was by choice:

> "Because that's my option, and because I think that the school... I was never neutral, it couldn't be: educating and training is a political act. For me, the children, ... I am not like Fernando Pessoa, [who says] «the best in the world are the children». They are not. They are mean (laughs). Sometimes they are very mean."

Based on this observation, which is reminiscent of what Popkewitz (2011, p. 51) calls

[55] See page 277

the social administration of children, Julieta Lopes continues:

> "So it was my option, I am a person of the left, my option was [to take to school] people from the left. But I took people from the left there, and also from the extreme left, which I didn't want to, but it came up because — and then there were that boy — there was some work that I don't know what it was, and Otelo[56] came up; Otelo was in prison. I wasn't thinking of, well, no, I had nothing for or against, but it wasn't in my projects. But a friend of Otelo went there, because the boy said he had a friend of Otelo and I don't know what and I don't know what else, and she went there [to talk at school]. There was also a PSD[57] militant: his son was there, and his son said: «Ah, my father knows a lot about these things». And so he went there. So I'm not sectarian, now the vast majority of people I invited there were really left-wing people."

And this point of view explains, probably, the second reason for the camp on Berlenga Island. It is preceded by another camp, in the dunes, near the municipality of Peniche, allowing a visit to its fort and a work on political prisoners held there before the April 1974 revolution.

From the 1993-1994 school year onwards, with the Alvito camp, there seems to have been a gradual involvement of younger children. When I participated, as a father, in the Porto de Muge camp, in the 1998-1999 school year, all the 1st cycle classes attended.

The choice of themes and the exploration of projects to study the environment also depend on the choice of teachers.

There are projects conceived according to the prescribed curriculum, and which are based on redirecting a child's observation or a discussion to the subject that the teacher wants to address. *The change of time* where a conversation about the arrival of spring serves to make the school study about bean germination, is a good example of this.

The albums resulting from the visit to correspondents or from the camps, such as *Alvito* show a reverse path. It is an authentic cultural work[58], reporting the work done by the various groups that make up the classes. Reading the work makes one understand how the school curriculum was addressed without being the *leitmotif* for the work started.

The discussion of work topics with the children gives rise to other small information research projects, as illustrated in the section *Our School* where a research work on

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[56] Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho was an official involved in the coup in 1974 that led to the actual Portuguese third republic. He was linked to extreme left wing parties mainly by the Portuguese communist party.

[57] PSD is a Party of the liberal centre.

[58] Concept used by Serralha (2009, p. 26).

the birth of twins is discussed, because the mother of one of the children in one of the classes is pregnant with twins and another, about tropical diseases, due to a curiosity to know more about the tsetse fly.

Methods and models

Even with very different options among different professors, it is possible to speak of coherent guidelines in Voz do Operário da Ajuda. There are some ways of working that appear transversally in the memoirs and in the documentary collection. With regard to class management, we will see in the second point of this chapter there is clearly an organisational coherence. There are also some coherent approaches to the interaction with knowledge.

First, I analyse some of the coherence that distinguishes Voz do Operário da Ajuda in the school world, then I try to understand where different teachers, more than taking divergent options, interpret differently this same methodological coherence. The information that supported this point is anchored to two keywords: *method* and *method with different teachers.*

Differences with the school world outside of Voz do Operário da Ajuda

The singularity of the way of doing school in Voz do Operário is witnessed on several occasions by the comparison made with the known hegemonic school shape. However, from the outset, the parents of the children enrolled there did not always realise that the school had a specific approach to learning. Jorge Carvalho says:

> "It was a very eclectic school, there were kids who lived in the popular neighbourhoods in Ajuda, and those who lived outside of Ajuda, but for whatever reason, they wanted their children to stay there, either for the educational project, or for whatever reason. In my case, I was from Ajuda, I always lived there, until a year ago, I lived in the same house, I was born and lived there, in *Travessa das Florindas*, which is very close to the school,..."

On many occasions, the work was not recognised as such or was unclear to those who had daughters or sons at school, which means it was necessary to show what was done. Clarisse Rosa explains:

> "Of course, I had parents who questioned me about how to work. The questions of history and geography, and I don't know what, this kind of thing... [They spoke] of the treatment of some contents; they thought and questioned whether otherwise the kids would not learn more. These kinds of things, which we then had to disassemble with them through the work we did in the overall environment studies."

Whoever going through Voz do Operário da Ajuda, across classes and years, states that the school that was lived there was different from the one that became

naturalised in a few generations in people's minds. Selma Belo[59] observes "there it is, the concept of learning was very different from what it is now, from what it has always been" in what seems to illustrate the normative reading of the *grammar of schooling* mentioned by Tyack and Tobin (1994). This different concept was expressed for Melissa Lousada[60] through the interaction:

> "So we had a method that was different from other schools. We knew that in other schools the kids would all sit there, facing the blackboard, watching the teacher. There was a different dynamic there: we worked a lot together, we all worked with each other, it was a different dynamic, it was much more interesting."

Milene Neves[61] testifies in the same sense:

> "Well, what do I remember? I remember, it *is* also a bit far away now, I remember us being different from all the other schools. (...) Public school students came, and they knew things in a very different way, very different from us. Then I started to invent, in my head, an idea about classical teaching (laughs) that was very static, because things were learned a lot, in a very medieval way, right, that thing of the master student, with a relationship between teachers and students much more asymmetrical than the one we had, therefore..."

Carla Gouveia[62] observes the uniqueness of the school in its shape and concludes:

> "So, at the same time, we had more sensitivity to what was going on in society. But there it is, as I said earlier, I think that school is a school more to the left than to the right."

Milene Afonso[63] thinks about the claiming vein and speculates:

> "I think it was something that, in a way, I wouldn't say instilled, but eventually in a way fostered, at school. I think also, inevitably, due to the influence of our parents."

The experience of a singular school shape is experienced, by the vast majority of testimonies, as something interesting. As Sheila Castro states[64]:

> "I think other people should have the privilege of enjoying this. [...] The fact that we were the ones looking for things, eh, ... gives a certain charm, the fact that [the work] was a bit more research; I think this teaching method allows

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59 Class T3, between 1987 and 1991.

60 Class T7, between 1995 and 1999.

61 Class T2, between 1985 and 1989.

62 Class T7, between 1995 and 1999.

63 Class T5, between 1990 and 1995.

64 Class T3, between 1987 and 1991.

> us to observe who teaches us, isn't it, so let us, let us look for it, and therefore... it allows us to participate much more and take initiative."

The evaluation centred on the person, formative and descriptive is another element pointed out. Irene Querido mentions:

> "It wasn't the traditional method at all. This I know clearly from my colleagues. When I was in Voz do Operário, they said that they had tests that they had to study and that they had grades, and I was reaching the fifth grade and not even knowing what a grade was. There were our assessments, but a concrete note that we are informed with, I think we did not have this type of notes."

Teachers re-adapt manuals and supporting texts, simultaneously inventing or looking for other materials. More radical than the teachers themselves, Francisco Neto observes:

> "I knew that everyone else had manuals, right, school books, and we didn't have textbooks. We had activity suggestions."

He mentions that Julieta Lopes, due to an external demand, said " «OK, let's use this manual». But she cut the whole manual and turned it into exercise cards."

Contrasting Francisco Neto's assertion in a certain way, some evidence of the use of school manuals can be found in the documentary collection. On the one hand there is a discussion about the use of the manual *The magic square* and on the other hand, *My reading book* is presented by *Raiz Editora* as a manual for the T6 class, in the first year of schooling.

This adoption did not inhibit the writing of stories and the reporting of events that formed, in that year, a first reading book, made from scratch, creating an approximation between the speech of the children involved and the drawing of this same speech (Vygotsky, 2007b). The documentary collection is rich in stories and news. With the stories invented in the first week of classes, the T6 class gets a first collective notebook and the first individual reading and writing notebook. Associated with this, a first chart appears, with lists of words. The same class developed attempts at writing, hand in hand with the learning of the writing code.

Milene Afonso vaguely remembers the learning process:

> "I suppose it was a bit of all of that, decorating the whole room, that is, exemplifying words with drawings. Euh, words chosen by us, to finally determine, for example, I don't know, remember 'bola', for example was the main word for 'bo', (...) someone drew a drawing, I vaguely remember."

The accumulation of key words and syllables allows for the reconstruction of texts and words on folding boards, available in the classroom: in a photograph we can see next to the board, which supports strips of paper or cardboard in a slot (the

fold, when made of fabric), a set of syllables inscribed on pieces of cardboard, arranged in groups, allowing the exercise of composition, and, in this way, continuing the process approached by Milene Afonso, referring, probably, to lists of words underneath of a reference word.

The incentive to write is constant. By valuing children's attempts, an environment is created in which the emergence of stories or sequences of stories is almost inevitable. This is what happens to one of the children in class T3, who, after taking up writing, sees his proposal serving as the basis for a collective work, reported, with fictitious names, in *Tomás and the family of words*. The production of writing is accompanied by moments of discovery together, and reading situations.

The discussion of math problems appears in several practice descriptions (Narciso and Paulus, 2006) that there is scattered evidence, kept in the documentary collection. Other mathematical discussions were recorded in a class from 1993. In two of Dora Agostinho's classes there are also mathematics discussions.

The walls of the classrooms have posters with information, extracted from collective discussions, around events in the room. I found, in my documentary collection, photographs of these records related to the study of the environment, the Portuguese language and mathematics. The brochure *Our school* reports on the collective management of time, room and space at the school, before presenting some work processes and some products referring to these same three areas of knowledge, thus documenting a work method that values cooperative learning, led by the teaching team, often assisted by the students.

The launch of the brochure was accompanied by an exhibition explained by the school's students, who invite visitors to try some of the activities as well as consult all the material that was used to create the brochure itself. In one of the photographs in this exhibition in the basement of the school, we see Carla Brito looking for information to show her father in front of a panel that contains lists of words, like those used in the workroom. In another photograph from the same series, we see three children in front of the computer explaining LOGO programming to the father of one of them. Above the computer is a poster with the basic instructions — the primitives — accompanied by facilitating illustrations.

Irene Pires says about her work at Voz do Operário da Ajuda:

> "I think that the teaching method at Voz is very different from normal school and I know perfectly well what my gaps are in terms of knowledge, compared to a person who has been in a [classical] public school; there are two things that are quite exemplary. One is not knowing the rivers of Portugal by heart, the other the Kings of Portugal."

Regarding knowledge of the environment, Francisco Neto again emphasises the relationship with school manuals:

> "The issue wasn't exactly that we didn't use textbooks, but that we built books [in which] we addressed subjects because of the subject, and not because they were on a page. My classmates and I were aware that the other kids from other schools followed the manual page by page, so the subjects, the subjects they studied were introduced by the sequence that was in the book, and not because it was interesting or because it was important to study that ."

Examples of books that Francisco Neto talks about are the aforementioned album *The engine seen by us (how Pascal's car engine works),* but also the albums of visits to correspondents and camps, as well as collective studies or individual, such as *Study on the common market; We had visits; The cat; The boats; The Wolves* and *The Turtles*. Most of the studies, as well as the training work were, as I analyse further ahead, done at specific times, already referred to by Clarisse Rosa as moments of planned work, forcing everyone to a regular self-assessment, always counting on the watchful eye and possible help of the rest of the group.

The same teacher states that one of the facilitating factors for the model adopted and that help to determine the singularity of the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda was:

> "[finding] that we all speak the same language there, and when you find that, that is great. It is possible to move forward, although if this goes on for a long time, there may be a risk of a major closure, right?"

The departure of teachers means replacements, what is not always easy. For now, it is not clear to find anyone who is familiar with a not hegemonic approach in most schools. Dora Agostinho tells how important it was to have had contact with the model during initial training:

> "I was full of ideas, theoretical ones obviously, about how to apply this type of model, because at the place where I studied we were injected with that model, and when I got here, I went to take a third year, who had had a teacher whose [the children] kept very good memories, and that in terms of the group it was quite good."

It wasn't always easy, concludes Dora Agostinho, not least because the children had a different view of reality than the newly trained teacher. But there was a lot of mutual support and as Clarisse Rosa mentions, there was,

> "between teachers, a great proximity, in fact, that was it, we were all on the same wave, the language we spoke was the same..., sometimes we got angry, as was inevitable, we had ours [specificities]... But it passed, because everything was understood by everyone, and therefore this was undoubtedly what was important for me, also as a person and in my training."

Speaking the same [conceptual] language facilitates, puts teachers, like students, in a learning situation, as if the model invited them to do so. The need to understand and live well the variant of the school shape in which the school community invests facilitating a collective learning posture. This learning is not limited to adults or schoolwork. Julieta Lopes remembers the always imminent danger in the camp on the Island of Berlenga, and she recorded:

> "Self-discipline; No one was at their trail — of course we were always on the lookout — but that was how it was. **Me**: And why do you think these kids got so self-disciplined. Do you attribute this to them, to the school? **Julieta**: To the method, to the model; the method made the kids self-responsible."

Methodological differences within the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school

If there are, as I have just shown, evidence of a model recognised as different from others and characteristic of the singular school shape of this school, there is also some evidence that shows that among the teachers in Voz do Operário da Ajuda there are methodological differences.

The testimonies are very clear in relation to some teachers who spent little time at Voz do Operário da Ajuda, or as a substitute, or at the beginning of their careers:

- "The teacher, I think she did not have anything to do with the others, I don't even remember her name, and she taught... there... the alphabet, it was the traditional method, more traditional that..." (Carla Garcia) .
- "There was even a teacher, whose name I don't remember, who I think was only there for a year, and the classes were very different from your classes, for example, and her classes were a bit more formatted, more similar to the whom I found later in the fourth grade, at the school [where I went next]" (Vitor Abreu).

The brochure *Our School* hints at slight differences in the interpretation of the work of productive ***workshops***, in the conceptualisation of work projects. Some of the projects archived in the school library confirm these differences. The emphasis given to interschool correspondence varies substantially from teacher to teacher. Two classes of the period under analysis refer to an active correspondence, with exchanges, while in other classes, correspondence, if it exists, is not mentioned. When the T3 class is visiting the city of correspondents for a week, taking two fathers and a mother with them, they take the opportunity to visit the whole school and explain the reason for the correspondence, together with one of the parents.

The classes where Clarisse Rosa or myself were teachers show more marks of institutional pedagogy. Only in these classes for example were used sociometric instruments to understand underlaying logics of the group. This is the case in class T2 (Faria, 1989) as well as in class T3. However, the T3 class shows the connection with

institutional pedagogy more clearly. The walls have posters with information about the judo belts of progress that Fernand Oury[65] developed, the management of production *workshops,* the meticulous organisation of support materials that allow an effective management of the individual work plan, as well as clear suggestions on how to manage the working time.

The organisation of the work of other groups did not necessarily have marks of institutional pedagogy. Milene Afonso only remembers classes, which were simply, in comparison:

> "With Julieta's, they were more organised [classes], at least, I have this idea, in my head, that they were more organised, that is, they were more systematic. Maybe with a beginning a middle and an end. More organised."

In the period between 1995 and 1999, a time when the school was attended by fewer children and had fewer classes, Julieta Lopes and Dora Agostinho often worked together. My participation as a father that I already mentioned, with the T7 group (Paulus, 1999), was largely due to the way Julieta herself organised herself in working with the children. The school changed and changes according to who works there. Melissa Lousada notes:

> "I don't really know, but VO is not the same as it used to be and that, I don't know but I think we were very lucky with the people we ended up with, and the teachers we had, Julieta who accompanied us from the first to fourth year, and then we had Dora teaching the math, and then we had Pascal, who gave us the math research for a year."

What stands out is an idea of a common frame of reference at school. This frame of reference is based on the reflection of teachers who have been linked to the institution for several years, others or the same also linked to the MEM and still others with knowledge and practice of institutional pedagogy developed by a group of teachers close to Fernand Oury. Therefore, says Clarisse Rosa,

> "there was a common matrix in terms of the organisation of pedagogical work, work in the classroom, and at school, it is not, but then, based on this common matrix, much has to do with the personal differences of each teacher. And then we were all very different, maybe in the way of being in the classroom, and in the relationship with the students."

In this second point, I tried to understand how everyone's learning is valued to the detriment of the teaching of some, in the way of doing school, in Voz do Operário da Ajuda. The organisation of group work, making it an articulated and discussed work, assuming that the school component of this work is done at school and not at home

[65] Oury (2009), posthumous in Pain et al.

is a structuring aspect of this way of interpreting the school shape. There is a clear pedagogical option, and in some cases, an ideological one, on the part of teachers to define a working model that sustains this same singular school shape. However, it is seen that, more than the institution, it is the teachers' pedagogical skills and the collective action of children and adults that determine, in essence, the way of doing school.

Innovative teaching means?

The questions

How is the use of school didactic means presented? What questions do the testimonies raise about the use of didactic means?

I will address the interaction with knowledge in the third part of this chapter, which analyses in detail Voz do Operário da Ajuda and its singular school shape. Here I leave a first and short look at the way in which the use of didactic means supports a specific way of relating what is learned at school with internal and external communication.

Until 1990, and at least in Kindergarten and in T3 and T6 classes, the school press still played an important role in disseminating their texts to the class-group. Gradually, the computer, introduced into the classroom in 1985, became the focus of attention and an important means for developing work projects. In addition to these two instruments, there are several references to other support materials for learning mathematics, in particular Cuisenaire rods and Papy mini-calculator, combining the binary base, represented with Cuisenaire's rods, with the decimal base and the *Multi-base Arithmetic Blocks*, better known as *cubes* or *MAB material* in its decimal version.

The importance given to some training material is also highlighted, which, in some cases, replaces the school manual, called file material, sheets or cards.

Because there are school activities related to the materials mentioned above that are presented as means of communication and interaction with the community, I decided to include in the set of testimonies those that reveal the art expressions.

The very organisation of the room, with its organised workspaces, appears as a didactic aid in itself. More than a negotiated scenario, it stems from an action purposely thought out by teachers to facilitate the organisation of autonomous and cooperative work.

This chapter is divided into three parts. In "*Schooled make-believes or bridging out?*" I analyse to what extent the instruments, which allow communication, actually serve to do so. Evidences that provide information for this point were grouped under the keywords *computer, computer logo*, *story telling time*, *press* and *painting*. In the second point, "*Instruction and training*" I try to understand the importance given to the

material and the moments that are easily recognised as more related to teacher activity. Here, the keywords that guide the analysis are: *Cuisenaire and MAB*, *cards and files*, *MAB material* and *minicalculator*. Then, and related to this second point, I analyse the meaning of the work "S*pace organised as a didactic means*" in relation to the uniqueness of the presented school shape. For this third point, I use the collection of evidence that I identified by the keyword *organisation classroom*.

Schooled make-believes or bridging out?

The production of texts to publish and sell or offer to others giving back the true sense of writing, crosses all discourses and all assets. Institutional pedagogy has as its landmark the proposal to take the floor. There is an ongoing desire to provide the means for this word to be taken, written and disseminated. Fernand Oury regularly stated at conferences or in working groups that he chose to provide the means to those who had no right to spread the word. In this regard, it is good to remember the words of Torres Santomé (2011, p. 10):

> "*The word infancy*[66] *is composed of the prefix* ***in****, which refers to deprivation, and the present participle* ***fans*** *from the verb* fari, facts sum*, which means to speak, to say. So that, literally, infancy means the absence of speech: the one who does not speak; that is, who has nothing to say and therefore does not need to speak*".

Freeing the child from the burden of childhood and giving it back the ability to speak, to say for itself, to express itself, requires a context, an instrument and an audience. Any cheap reprographic technique serves as an instrument, as long as the adult gets rid of the 'normalising' and 'formatting' precepts embedded in the school shape for creating the context. This adult, with the ability to organise a group of children, within a concept of a schooled system that calls itself education, manages to prepare this same group to manage the production of its own word. The *Cooperative d'Enseignement Laic* in France, the Institutional Pedagogy, some modern school movements and the Pedagogy of the Oppressed, showed ways of doing this. In the school environment, the public is easy to find: correspondents from other schools first, children in general later. This is what was also done at the Voz do Operário da Ajuda, opening up to new audiences, proposing authentic cultural works, as advocated within the MEM.

With the first microcomputers entering the school in 1985, still with limited possibilities for text editing, there is therefore, until 1991, evidence of the use of the school press, a means of reproduction introduced by Célestin Freinet, who, as Oury

[66] Infancy near to childhood as in Portuguese and French.

repeated, did not invent the press, but adapted it for children to use it[67]. In 1993, the Kindergarten class still had a press, with lead letters, size 36, arranged in a latter case, identifying each space with the letter and its mirror (doc83; *00:04:40*) solely used to produce the reference material that allows initiation to reading and writing in the literacy phase. However, the use of the press requires a rigorous and complex organisation of work teams to compose, print and decompose texts, at a constant pace, as happened in the classroom of Raul Bento who states:

> "I don't remember now the name of the machine with which we put the characters, the letters, but I remember that we did that ourselves, we had to put the ink by the letters, put the paper."

Judite Pinheiro, however, remembers that it was about

> "the press. We had letters to make texts, I remember this very well because I liked to spend a lot of time there."

The exhibition at the school that accompanies the brochure *"Our School"* shows the smaller texts, printed with the school press, limited to approximately A5 format, while the larger texts are reproduced with the spirit duplicator.

Meanwhile, a new instrument appears and like Milene Neves, Sheila Castro and Carla Garcia, Irene Querido also remembers it well: "When we entered the room, it was just to the left, the computer space". When remembering, Carla Garcia[68] is even wondering a little. She asks herself if there were actually computers at that time and considers that they must have been "super-old" but for Sheila Castro they were something "super unusual".

A space of the classroom organised for this purpose makes painting possible. Sculpture or engraving appear as other means available to express oneself. Fernanda Queirós mentions:

> "It's funny, that in that room, I just remember, I'm sure we painted, that I used to do these things a lot. But I only remember a lot of light, why I remember a lot of light, I don't know."

These means, made available to all, were jointly managed by rotative responsibility, remembered by Raul Bento and Jorge Carvalho. The latter mentions: "I also remember being responsible for the paintings, the lunch, by chance I don't remember. But of paintings and computers, yes". The shared management of communication resources, in the broadest sense, turned inwards and outwards, facilitates interaction and the

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[67] What may have been, as Sérgio Niza says, a distraction of Freinet. There are existing proof presses with no need to be reduced to a school press that have better results. I used to work with such a press at the beginning of my activity as primary school teacher in Belgium.

[68] Class T5, from 1995 to 1999 .

pedagogical relationship. As Clarisse Rosa explains:

> "I speak for myself: having a group of twenty-eight, if there were, for example, three in the painting area, and someone managed it and if there were three in the carpentry shop who went outside and we did it simultaneously, this somehow freed me up. And I think it worked fine. Therefore, the issue of artistic expression was highly valued."

The statements are congruent with others, such as that of Tomás Duarte, who remembers that " ... we had time to do our training cards, or we would do paintings, or we would go to the painting corner ... "

Communicate inside and outside

Approximately half of the interviewees have still worked with the school press and refer to it. Carla Brito says: "In the press, we wrote some texts made by us, at least [that's what] I remember."

Milene Afonso mentions, in this regard:

> "We wrote texts, sometimes together, or, one of us wrote, on a certain topic for example: one wrote in the daily notebook, then we ended up reading, or, well, I think this varied slightly from the moment but we chose some texts together, to make the school newspaper. We were the ones who did it literally, well, not only the texts, but also the construction, exactly, on the press, I remember that that was a miserable job (laughs), but I loved it. I remember the whole process, including having to turn it over, putting the letters upside down, I remember all those little things, applying the ink, putting paper on it, letting it dry, I remember all those little things and this was a very fun job. Thorough, but it was fun. And the organisation we had to have so we wouldn't get mixed up with the leaves and I don't know what, everything was very organised."

Water-based or oil-based inks were placed on the letters with a hard roller, then a sheet of paper was placed. The lid was closed (or the leaf was passed over with a clean roller), the leaf was removed and allowed to dry. In class T3, the sheets were placed in a telephone directory or the texts were hung on a rope, with clothes pegs, above the blackboard. Next to the press itself, there were type cases, in which the letters were organised in cases identified with the letter and its mirror, to facilitate the arrangement of the characters. In a photograph of the T3 class, we see a board fixed to the wall above the press, with some paint rollers and a bottle of thinner.

In addition to being included in the class newspaper "os Catraios" the texts were regularly displayed in the school corridor, eventually illustrated:

> "We did it with mono... ink? ... mono... ***Me***: Monotype ***Fernanda***: Yes."
>
> (Fernanda Queirós)

The type of ink and the size of the letters also made it possible to print some texts on a kind of selfmade card paper, made in the class from old newspapers.
The exposition of the texts led to the exploration of their content. A work on boats, which involved six children, a collective visit to the navy museum, another to the Belém dock, in addition to the visit of an ecologist to the room to explain the risks of pollution caused by different types of boats, namely nuclear-powered boats, displays, on the second page, the text that originated the whole work:

One day I went boating
and saw a lot of dolphins
and when I got
to the beach,
I went pedal boating.
João

Irene Pires testifies in this regard:

> "I remember there was a lot of freedom of choice. If people wanted to do certain activities in the classroom, this was very motivated, we participated in paintings, the school newspaper, because we were the ones who edited, composed the text, at least that part of editing, I liked it a lot."

From Irene's group, a book of texts from the classroom remained in the estate, all of which were transferred to the computer. In fact, one of the photographs of that class shows two girls sitting in front of a *Philips NMS8245 MSX2* computer from 1985, which allowed the printing of texts, with the *MSX Home Office program*. The pedagogical monograph dedicated to the same class highlights the writing work on the same type of computer.
The photographs of the computers and the information displayed near them present more instructions related to the LOGO than to the writing of texts. In the middle of these, we see in class T2 a sheet with:

To print
1. Turn on the printer
2. Insert the paper
3. Load "draft "
4. On line
5. Choose imprimeecran – *return* .

In the same class, on the same wall, we see half of another instruction, referring to the accented characters or ***c*** cedilla.
Only Francisco Neto[69] is more explicit with regard to writing text on the computer:

[69] Class T1, between 1984 and 1988.

> "So, writing texts, writing texts in pairs, individually, (...) I mean, computers entered the second class, in the first class we didn't have computers, ..."

However, in 1991, the T6 class printed their one-sentence texts in the school press, right at the beginning of the school year, thus constituting the necessary material for learning to read. They are original phrases, chosen among all, in the moments of "tell and show" in the morning. Among the texts of the first fortnight of classes are:

" *I went to the campsite with Dora. Inês*"

" *I played with the Lego wagon I made. Victor*"[70]

But the printing press also served to produce the class's personalised lists of words with common elements and syllables, based on the identified reference words.

The introduction of computers through the Minerva project (*doc262* , *doc269*) put a lot of value on work in mathematics, especially with LOGO programming, which perhaps explains some hesitation, in practice and in memory, in relation to the production of texts: "I think it was for the compositions that we made. I was always going to do these compositions, I remember being there. But towards the end, I don't remember it being there all the time" says Carla Garcia[71]. However, we see Carla, in a photograph from 1990, during the exhibition to launch the brochure "Our school" demonstrating computer work to her father.

At that time, the classes already had *Amstrad PC1512* computers, with a color screen. It was already possible to use larger font sizes, which allowed children to produce texts that graphically resembled those they were used to print with the press, even if it was not yet possible to use the *tilde*, replaced by an umlaut:

I went to the
birthday of a friend
of mine called
Maria Joäo
V. 29-01-92
For Pascal

It is no longer necessary to organise composition teams and arrange texts, saving time for other projects. The same T6 class, which, from the 1992-1993 school year, develops work together with the T5 class will produce more text on the computer. So we can see work in pairs, in front of a *Philips NMS 9100* monochrome computer,

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[70] In order to understand the meaningfulness of the adopted model whereas choosing mono-phrase texts dictated by the children themselves I opted to translate their work. All original Portuguese texts (also regarding project work can be seen in the original document from which this book derives, on the repository of the University of Lisbon in https://repositorio.ul.pt/handle/10451/9692.

[71] Class T5, between 1990 and 1994.

already with MS-DOS based text editing software in a graphical environment. They rely on looking for letters on the keyboard and writing: "here is with a capital H" says the supporting peer, teaching how to use the keys to reproduce capital letters. Beside this pair, another is working on an *Amstrad PC1512* with color screen, with the same graphic environment, while the other members of the two classes work on other tasks as well as the two teachers do.

However, it is important to emphasise that communication does not occur only through writing and to the outside world. The paintings had a prominent place in the small community, remembered in the words of Vítor Abreu:

> "And I remember that in that one, in the upper right corner, there was a kind of corridor, and now I remember seeing paintings that we had done on display there. I don't remember if it was at a New Year's break or if we were doing some activity."

Artistic expression is also embedded in project work, and for Clarisse Rosa this does not happen by chance:

> "... there was a big investment, really, with Guida [Faria], about the way of presenting works, the albums, the issue of artistic expression, which was highly valued. Therefore, at the time, a lot was still being done, which now, in the Movement's model, I think it is not: at the time of planned work, expression activities were also included, it is not, therefore, the part of painting and artistic expression and drawing, or other work that the kids wanted to do in that area."

In fact, several filmed moments illustrate the total integration of expressions other than writing, in the planned activities of each one, during the work week. In the T2 class itself, this is evoked by the pedagogical monograph, which shows us the exhibition wall and some children painting during a moment of diversified work. Classes T5 and T6 have one of the smallest rooms for the painting and carpentry workshops, where we can see Vítor Abreu taking some punaises to fix a painting sheet on the display on the wall, while others are painting or doing *carpentry*. On a shelf, there are pieces of clay drying, while there are a series of tables on which there are paintings.

The expression *workshops* serve yet another way to communicate with the community: the children and educators invite their fathers and mothers to come and try some illustrative techniques with them, which they may not know. Thus, we see Melissa Lousada[72] when still a toddler among many other children teaching her mother how to make a monotype with her fingertip.

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[72] Class T7, 1995-1999

Painting, drawing and various forms of engraving, such as pyrography, scraping techniques and monotypes accompany the productions of the groups. The albums that report the excursions to the correspondents, as well as those that tell the indoor camps and camps are illustrated. Among the correspondence, I found explanatory drawings for ongoing projects, subtitled in two languages. One of them represents a fantastic universe, with the sun, the earth, clouds, planets, stars, a comet, Portugal, Belgium and *the island of Catarina.* After seeing the theater play *Soup and Wild Things*, the T6 class, in their first year of schooling does a drawn retelling of the story *Where the Wild Things were*[73] from Maurice Sendak.

Meetings with correspondents and exhibitions at the camps reveal many paintings, models and clay objects telling the story of those outgoings. Some class or school newspapers are illustrated using different techniques.

There is also a decorative function. The walls of the various rooms often display sets of paintings as if they were mini-exhibitions. Among the analysed photographs, twenty (6%) show paintings or children painting, six of the filmed documents include exhibitions of paintings or moments of diversified work, including painting or drawing. For example, in one of the photographs of the T2 class, there is a very colourful set, consisting of a large landscape, two paintings of boats, a bird and two more landscapes, underneath a huge rag doll, with a head made of paper pulp. There is a frieze with "Escola Voz do Operário" under open arms. Another, from the same class, shows one of the corners of the room, where a mini painting *atelier* has been set up: Two display boards fixed to the wall, serve as an easel, providing space for two or three sheets of paint and for two people to paint simultaneously .

Computer and LOGO programming

The computer and LOGO programming left many memories. Francisco Neto and Jorge Carvalho associate all the work with the Minerva project and the latter mentions how it all started:

> "I think it was the "Minerva project" and we started using a language, I don't remember if it was a Basic language, it was a very simple language, it was very accessible, and we had some computers. Initially, I don't know which ones they were, but then we switched to Amstrad ones. I have the Amstrad present. What we did on the computer, I don't remember well anymore. I no longer remember exactly what the programming consisted of... I have an idea of one, some schematic drawings, therefore in a grid, I have an idea of some grids, but I don't remember much of... I know there were some codes to enter, but that's it I don't have a present anymore... I don't remember anymore."

[73] Which premiered in film in 2010, in Portugal with the title "O sítio das coisas selvagens".

Jorge Carvalho was, in the first two years, a student of Margarida Faria. It was through her that *A Voz do Operário da Ajuda* entered the era of "computers at school" in 1985, through a partnership with the MINERVA project hub based at the Faculty of Sciences (DEFCUL)[74]. Guided by João Pedro da Ponte's team, the school will explore, with the support of João Filipe Matos, Eduardo Veloso and, later, Fernando Nunes, the potential of LOGO programming in successive versions: LOGO for microcomputers, LOGO MSX, LOGO Writer and a variant of it, Lego-LOGO.

With the commercialisation of WinLogo© and later SuperLogo©, running in a Windows© environment, the previous and non-compatible variants fell into disuse. In the universe of respondents from *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, those who talk about computers, talk more about LOGO than about writing texts: nine of the twenty-one former students refer to it, all with one exception from the classes before 1992. In fact, after finishing the MINERVA project, LOGO was only used sporadically, also in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. But between 1985 and 1992, the team of teachers from *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* was frequently asked, along with other schools linked to DEFCUL, to present works or for short training courses in LOGO, on an instrument that was seen as revolutionising the pedagogical relationship, something we always express our doubts about (Faria and Paulus, 1990).

Francisco Neto confirms that when "computers were introduced, there was a lot of talk about it, about the "minerva" and the turtle so, (...) we give orders to the turtle, forward, backward, BK, FW, and the turtle was drawing". In the collection of documents I found project notes such as:

- outline of the programming of the monkey game in Logo;
- Logo animation project *"Once upon a time there was a rabbit"*;
- maze design sketch for the turtle;
- tile design in Logo;
- crocodiles project, in album;
- pirate ship project;
- Logo animation project *"Once upon a time there was a parrot"*;
- Logo project with messages (hello turtle);
- Logo project with variables (interaction) "startup" page.

I also found support material such as:

- A wall of help sheets in the T2 class, not only with the aforementioned information for printing texts, but also with the LOGO "primitives" and with

[74] DEFCUL hub: installed in the Department of Education of the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon, it took on a leading role in defining the project's educational approach, valuing the importance of the LOGO language, promoting the perspective of the computer as a tool and the use of the computer by students in the context of interdisciplinary projects. (information retrieved on May 27, 2012 from http://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Projecto_Minerva).

project proposals;
- Help sheet Logo: the turtle prints the result of the operations;
- The Logowriter keyboard in MS DOS.

Vítor Abreu[75] associates computers with LOGO when he says:

> "I remember learning how to work on the computer, with this program you had, I don't remember what it was anymore. I remember very well when we played with that LOGO game, with the turtle, in which we had to work through codes. This has even reminded me recently, because as I am working in the area of digital design, and I work with many programmers, I remember that this was a very basic principle of what many of them do today."

About the turtle LOGO that Irene Querido and Carla Brito[76] remember, the latter says: " it was the guide, with whom I did it, with the keys, I made the turtle walk forwards, to the right or to the left, and it gave [orders], she drew certain lines". This guide was already present among children in the preschool group. In a photograph from 1990, four children and the teacher look at the computer screen. On the table, next to the computer, there are some support instruments, among others a small card with a turtle drawn on it, which, by placing it in the same position as the turtle on the screen, makes it easier to understand where to turn and how many degrees to get the desired angle in the programming process.

For the T3 class, working with Lego-LOGO was a milestone. Raul Bento says:

> "I remember our computer experiences. I remember us, us making, anything with... well... hmm, the closest I can find to that is those Legos, the technics, and I remember we did some experiments with this through the computer. It cannot be called programming, I think, but we managed to control the object we created through the computer."

Diogo Garcia, who appears in several photographs and in one of the filmed documents building objects in Lego, says:

> "Basically what I remember from the computer, I liked that, then at home, there were also Legos, so I remember, that I thought it was funny because I had the Legos, then the computer controlled the Legos there, and I thought that was really cool. "

It was this class that developed the long project, already mentioned, trying to understand what influences the speed of an object with wheels on an inclined plane. The class also explored the concept of variables in programming, having simulated a program it was putting together, in which the objective was to get the turtle to

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75 Class T6, between 1991 and 1995

76 Carla Brito, Diogo Garcia, Irene Querido, Raul Bento: T3, between 1987 and 1991

randomly "fake" a bag of coins among nine apparently identical bags, to then give a player the opportunity to identify the bag by having three weighings.
Vitor Abreu adds:

> "And regarding the turtle game, I also remember that we had to make certain objects, if I'm not mistaken, I remember that we could make a car, ...".

Tomás Duarte[77] has similar memories: "we spent hours building and programming, making drawings and even making animations [...] it was almost programming an animation, I remember doing it. Perfectly, ... and the Legos! ... and then we could introduce certain orders, this program was spectacular ." There are photographs of his class from 1991 in which we observe the construction of objects in Lego, connected to the computer. There is a well-organised wall, which refers to more complex orders for the turtle, such as those that fix positions on the screen and change the shape, an explanation of the Cartesian axis, associated with the *fixpos* order, since the central point on the screen has the coordinates [0,0].
Milene Neves had a very particular experience with computers and the LOGO turtle, reporting:

> "I remember what I liked the most, which was drawing, and drawing on the computer, that was a way I realised that it was necessary to do math, at least, multiplication,... that was very funny, and I tell this story to everyone. ***Me***: Hold on; so you learned from computer drawings that you had to do math? ***Milene***: Ehu (Yes). Yes, I discovered the calculating that I had to do, that was a necessity that I had to be able to draw, it was very motivating for me, wasn't it... ***Me***: And what were these drawings like on the computer? Do you remember? ***Milene:*** I remember. We had one, there was a turtle, who had to walk forwards, backwards, and I think sideways, and as it walked it made a line, with several pixels. And then, I vaguely remember the commands. OK, João must remember it better than I do (laughs). I don't remember the commands well. It was RT, I don't know what, Left, Right, like this... I remember we were making a drawing of *Adamastor*[78]. It was about a work on the discoveries, and we had this part to do, I don't know if it was the head, if it was the tongue sticking out, maybe I'm already mixing everything up. Maybe it wasn't from then on, maybe it was after finding out that I managed to do Adamastor, I don't know anymore. I remember drawing Adamastor. With João ... and then we started, it was more me and him who were at it, asking how we made a circle. And to make a circle ... I don't remember what we had to do anymore (laughs). But I know it was **weeks** [of work] at least that's what I remember. The discussion was very

[77] Class T5, between 1990 and 1994.

[78] The monstrous North Wind of the Cape, as described in the epic *As Lusíadas* by Camões.

> intense: 'how are we going to reach a circle?'. And you had to do something very complicated that I don't remember what it was (laughs). And then we reached a conclusion and left. I think it was a multiplication account, it was like a phenomenon, in the room.[79] Of course it was João who found out (laughs)."

The integration of the computer and LOGO programming was not as easy as that of less technological instruments, especially in the beginning, when the machines and instructions themselves were not always very intuitive. Clarisse Rosa recalls:

> "It caused [me] some disturbance there in terms of work organisation because it was with that turtle program, what was it called?, LOGO, which I had a hard time with and I never understood very well because I thought that... there were many breakdowns that had to be resolved, right, and then, not knowing how to resolve them, I had to interrupt work many times. So, there were kids who loved doing that but then there were problems and they couldn't move forward, as was the case with JC for example, who really liked working with LOGO, and then I had many times to interrupt the support work I was doing with other students and this ended up causing me some disruption in the organisation and I don't think I ever got much out of it because of that,..."

In fact, even if many of the projects that are shown in photographs or on video show children's work situations, it is also very clear that a lot of work goes through the explanation and demonstration of the teacher, in which the children participate more as a listener than as an active player.

Didactic means that have to be managed collectively, require a certain regulation. The fear of falling into excessive bureaucracy is real. Dora Agostinho states that, often having some reluctance to an overly formal internal bureaucracy, the "computer register, was one of those that could not fail, this one, there was even the need to have it, because — maybe that nowadays this is not felt so much because everyone has a computer at home — but at that time, you could basically only use it at school, because at home there were practically none ... "

Finally, there are some reports of projects with children and references to some articles published within the scope of the MINERVA project, such as *" Le Jeu de João"* written for the École des Bruyères website, of which the original was lost due to server failure. Also part of this set is the article *"The lego-logo and the construction of*

[79] The underlining is mine. To make small circles , with the screen resolution used at the time, a solution was repeat 360 [fd 0.1 rt 1]. There were two problems: understanding that one had to multiply by 360 to make a whole circle and that one had to use steps smaller than the unit to not get a giant circle that was not useful for the drawing.

mathematical concepts" written with Fernando Nunes[80] for the minutes of the Minerva meeting in Bragança, in 1992, and the notes for a communication for the meeting of the CEFEPE[81] *"Learning to learn"*. For the adults, it was, in fact, as for the children, a very genuine situation of learning in the act with the children. For all it was the first contact with computers in an educational environment, for all, with the exception of two, it was anyhow the first contact with computers. As Clarisse Rosa says: "it was with this group that I started working with the computer". It was a partnership in learning, between adults and children, in which the teacher's knowledge is not immediately linked to the object under study.

Instruction and training

There are few references to the support materials used and all serve for mathematical conceptualisations. Reading and writing are developed from the experiences of each one, resorting to means of replication to disseminate and at the same time produce the material necessary for learning. The study of the environment, including experimental work, is based on provocations and discussions that engender work projects. Mathematics, however, even problem-based, apparently requires its own instruments and moments to develop the necessary skills. It is the first question here, in *"Instruct or conceptualise?"*. However, the speeches are clear and accompany the documents. There is a need to train acquired skills in some situations. And in this context, what does autonomous work mean? I gathered the information given to me in "*Some work aspects related to training*".

Instruct or conceptualise?

Only the classes I worked with have records of the use of Cuisenaire rods[82]. In the first notebooks of the T6 class, there are some records regarding the appropriation of the rods and the values they represent. The representation of the so-called *addition mats* also appears. This representation coincides with the representations of the decomposition into pairs of numbers of all numbers up to ten, visualised on posters that were fixed on the walls of the room, serving as support information for the individual work.

Ricardo Azevedo remembers "the rulers", Diogo Garcia recalls: "I remember that at

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[80] In one of the photographs of the T3 class, we can see Fernando Nunes, a mathematics teacher and trainer at the time in the MINERVA project, preparing an experiment to test a small LOGO program that activates a Lego device.

[81] CEFEPE was a reflection group for teachers promoted by the director of the Pestalozzi-school of Lisbon. The group was extinct not long after her dead.

[82] The Cuisenaire material, as it is most often referred to, consists of a set of rulers , of different colours and ranging from 1 to 10 cm in length, representing the numbers from 1 to 10. Widespread by Gattegno, it is used in on a large scale in some countries , such as Belgium , the Netherlands and Canada .

least [...] that there were those little wooden things there".

Papy's minicalculator, in its decimal base version, is related to Cuisenaire rods. However in the *Voz do Operário, from Ajuda* it is in most classes used on its own. Tomás Duarte and Milene Afonso refer it. Milene manages to give a very good description of this didactic tool that facilitates the preparation of arithmetic calculations using basic algorithms:

> "It was a way for us to do calculations, I can't say much more than that, that is, it had, it was a square, with four squares, basically that was it. Each square had its own color, and we used it, for example... for the unit, then it was (visualised), it was 1, 2, 5 and 10, and then there would be another square, next to it, which would be the 10, 20, 50 and 100, that is, the logic would be that we, with the little pieces we had, could do calculations.
>
> I'm not absolutely sure that the rule was like that, but I do know that, that is, we had to make a certain number, we managed to make it with small pieces, they explained it in huge squares, made of magnets, because we had magnets, so that later we could make I remember that exercise, at the time it was Guida, and Maria João, especially Guida, who taught us, in short, how to work with it."

In fact, the four square tiles of which the instrument consists (units, tens, hundreds and thousands) are each divided into four squares, always with the same colours: white and red at the bottom, purple and brown at the top, making thus the equivalence with the colours of the Cuisenaire rods 1, 2, 4 and 8. The squares represent these values, and their combination, in binary calculation, allows the visualisation of all numbers from one to ten by combining these four base numbers. Placing a bead in one of the squares means that the underlying value is in use. Two beads in a square equals one bead in the square with the value next to it. When one reaches a value of ten (brown + red), one jumps to the next tile. There are posters for the T6 class that explain the use of the mini-calculator. A document filmed in 1994 shows Margarida Faria, doing exercises on the mini-calculator, with half of a class, while the class teacher works with the other half.

The multi-based arrhythmic blocks (MAB) were frequently used in the different classes of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda.* They appear in a discussion of a problem involving looking up whole tenths in an addition series, facilitating counting by ten. The versatility of the material helped with reasoning. Irene Pires mentions:

> "I remember that [in] activities, for example math, we often used materials that allowed us to help people think; [I remember the] shapes, some cubes that we used to assemble, to count tenths, for example, and I got along well with this system..."

The blocks, rods and tiles were kept in wooden boxes and were free to explore for

preschool children. From the first year, they were used in collective moments and later, in individual moments, as support for calculation. The moments of instruction are not reported in the testimonies, nor are they very evident in the documentary collection. There is some explanation and instruction about the use of the material and, through the calculation files, we realise that there are work suggestions that use these materials to conceptualise positional decimal logic in the use of algorithms but also in the conceptualisation of the equation and of the rational number.

Some work aspects related to training

The *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* has the characteristics of a space that allows meaningful work, based on the sharing of ideas, the presentation of projects and, as we will see in the second part of this chapter, a unique way of organising power, typical of Institutional Pedagogy and MEM proposals, within the classroom and within the school. In the third point of this chapter, we will see in more detail the connection established with knowledge. If, in many aspects, the school presents itself as what I described as an interactive cultural space-time[83], it also presents imposed individual training routines. This training takes up part of each one's time and obliges everyone to go through a certain route, continuously evaluating the route already taken. For some classes of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, this training is based mainly on exercises organised in a file, and, in the case of the classes for which I was responsible, related with the aforementioned set of competence belts represented by little coloured circular stickers. Diogo Garcia tells about this:

> "I remember you, I remember the way we learned things, that little thing with the little colours, the register board,.."

He continues, saying:

> "I think it was you, you had prepared all that and then it was ready, from then each person could try or not, because it depended on the person, to do it, to get further, here, on that table.
> I remember, that's it, I started with, this I remember well, I started with spelling, and I did it until black, until the end. Afterwards, I don't remember, I think I moved on to mathematics, and I don't know if it went to black at all, but I remember doing and doing things."

He concludes the reasoning by stating:

> "I speak in black, because black was the end. That is, when a person was black, it was the end. It was like karate belts, white, yellow, and so on. That's why it ended up in black, it's there and it's done."

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83 See chapter 2, page 125.

For other classes, training could include a mixture of forms or cards prepared and organised according to the class and proposals from one or another adopted manual. There, progression was less visible, until the moment when progress verification instruments were introduced, based on the prescribed curriculum. These instruments correspond in essence to the presentation of the prescribed curriculum in language accessible to children, in combination with a checklist of tasks and subjects covered. However, the first year classes always practice reading and writing based on their own texts and their own stories, systematising the rules of reading and writing based on the comparison and analysis of the collection they build together.

The training sheets, "huge sheets", according to Selma Belo, were in most classes organised in wooden trays, hanging on the wall, or as Diogo Garcia explains: "there were those little wooden things there, with all those sheets" or placed on work tables. The training essentially involves worksheets. Irene Querido and Raul Bento confirmed the existing evaluation system in the T3 class.

Clarisse Rosa confirms that it is "... training of the algorithms, which went a lot through the individual plan and the cards, so each one [worked alone], except when I needed to explain something, that's the idea I have... ".

The colours, says Irene Pires, were also present in the T2 class, as were the cards, which Jorge Carvalho describes as "laminated cards" and which had certain levels. Milene Neves confirms and adds she does not remember any cards for field project work. Irene Querido concludes "at the time, [there was] as it starts today, a diversified teaching, (laughter)".

However, Carla Brito adds another element. There were in the classroom:

> "shelves, but they weren't horizontal, they were slanted, holding sheets which had solutions at the back."

The cards were therefore, for the most part, self-correcting. Sheila Castro remembers moving from one group of cards to another:

> "We were solving exercise cards, and when we thought we were ready there was a test card. This test card, if I am not mistaken, you followed it, it was more of an analysis, (...) then you saw the test card and said whether or not we were prepared to move on to the next color."

Anyone who worked with Julieta Lopes also remembers the card work. Tomás Duarte talks about "wanting to show service" and that: "... we decided on the level of difficulty of the cards we proposed". Carla Garcia shares this memory:

> "They were exposed on the wall, and there were tables where I had the cards. There were the cards that we made, and we had our own sheets [the work plans]. Ah, I do not remember if we took them home or if they were there. I

remember going there to get mine or the other one, now I don't know."

Milene Afonso remembers the worksheets but "I don't exactly remember classes, that is, I don't have a structured memory of how classes went, or of mathematics, especially of Mathematics, Portuguese I have a vague idea", while Carla Garcia explains that "the students would go there to pick up, when we didn't have classes," and that she remembers that "in the morning there were more classes, and that's it, we'd go to playground and stuff, after lunch , it was like this..."

Carla Gouveia, from the T7 class, remembers the same ritual: "... there were the Portuguese worksheets, the math worksheets, we had everything divided up, in the afternoon, in the morning was when the classes were. No it was, I think it was. "

Selma Belo adds two elements. She states that in her class "I have no recordation of having the traditional book" and also notes:

> "We did experiments, we had some cards, in which we took the indication of how the experiment was carried out. Obviously, it had to be controlled by someone, who had all the steps, but we had to put it into practice ourselves. I remember that and I remember one in particular, it was one about a candle and lemon juice, this one was made by me, I still remember. I really liked the experience place."

The card-based work ensured what the teachers thought had to be really trained and the colour coding was simple. There was no obligation to go through all the cards, there was an obligation to reach a certain belt of competence for addition, subtraction, division and multiplication, spelling and grammar. The belt indicates a developed skill, therefore belts are never removed. Directly derived from the proposals of institutional pedagogy, in classes T2 and T3, other competences such as problem solving, writing and reading were described and everyone, at every moment, could propose themselves for a new belt. The information was summarised in the colour chart, mentioned by Diogo Garcia.

Clarisse Rosa mentions that "I always had to manage some conflicts even in those moments of [work] ... when they were supposed to be studying and doing some training". Some of these conflicts involve the management of the work plan itself and the type of obligation that exists. For Julieta Lopes, sometimes it was complicated. Personally, she considers that there were boys who exaggerated:

> "it was the card takers, they made a lot of cards out there... and that took... I didn't require a minimum plan, no, but I had a maximum..., there were kids who exaggerated to the detriment of other things, which were the cool things, the arts, isn't it."

On the other hand, at certain times it was necessary to organise some obligation with the cards, even if the teacher did not feel very satisfied with the fact that they forgot

that: "In addition to the hassle of the files, which they had to compulsorily do in the plan, they had other activities." Julieta explains that she had to argue many times:

> "There was even mandatory, individual work, so each kid really had to do a certain thing (...) due to the influence of I don't know why, they thought that what was important were the cards. So there was often a discussion of what to do and what not to do."

Space organised as a didactic means

I identify as an interactive cultural space-time, that is, as a space in which everyone is welcomed with their available knowledge to use it as a starting point for individual and collective work projects and for everyone's new learning. It is about an outlined wharf. The very organisation of the space, the place for the tools everyone uses, the layout of the work areas and the easy availability of the material for everyone, thus form part of a pedagogical and didactic scenario.

The configuration of the first cycle room was congruent with the one of the kindergarten room, as Francisco Neto[84] tells us, when referring to all the years he spent in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*:

> "I was there for four years and went before through kindergarten. My educator was Ana Oliveira. I remember moving forward in terms of our organisation, also taking over the organisation of space, materials, that we already had some action in this regard [...]. In other words, I'm saying this because I didn't feel any difference, I didn't feel a shock, I didn't feel a jump, when I went from kindergarten to the first cycle, to the first cycle as it was called at the time, because I remember having this coherence from kindergarten to first cycle."

Taking a quick tour of the different classrooms shown in photographs and in filmed documents, we can see that the organisation of space is intentional, thought by the adult as a didactic means, allowing children to learn and conceptualize it in the act of doing, as advocated by Glaeser (1999) and Vergnaud (1996), when approaching the experimental didactics for mathematics.

Specific work areas

The scenario facilitates or hinders students' autonomy, the possibility of working on several projects at the same time, the way in which planning and evaluation is carried out. The T2 class, for example, has defined areas of work, with materials organised according to each area. There is an area for computers, with two workstations, the necessary instructions for their use, the LOGO projects in progress, on the wall and a

84 Class T1, 1982 – 1988.

space to the side that allows the storage of some documents. There is another area for painting, where the material to paint is at hand, and the walls are organised so that two people can work. Another area concentrates cards with work proposals and the respective records of work carried out on the wall. In one of the photographs, a class library can be seen. The room has a central space with work tables for small groups. The space is reorganised for the moment of evaluation and planning, the council meeting referred to as *assembly*: Freed from the tables, arranged in a corner, it is possible to make a large circle with children and adults, about thirty people in all.

The pedagogical monograph filmed in the T2 class documents the specific pedagogical scenario that meets the work proposal of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. With a quick turn of the camera, we observe two boys in the reading space, a girl in the painting area, some children in one of the working groups, recording what they did, for later evaluation, and a boy turning on a computer in the respective area, to print a text. A new angle of the entire room shows the tables grouped into small workspaces for 4 or 5 people. A final close-up again shows the computer space and one of the benches with work sheet, where someone comes to get a job proposal. This footage illustrates well the memories of Jorge Carvalho and Milene Neves respectively:

- "The room; there was a little corner for painting, when you entered, I think on the right side, the press (...). And then there were the tables, and a board, on the left side I think, was where the math and Portuguese classes were, I think, and then we had autonomy."
- "I remember the place where the sheets were, which were the sheets for mathematics, Portuguese, for studying the environment or the physical environment, I don't know if there were; I remember the reading corner (*voice of sudden recognition*), and I myself almost always reading the same book (laughs). Then, I remember where the computers were, and that's it, there was, I remember the room being organised with round tables, so we worked, we didn't always stay in the same place, we varied, always according to what we were doing."

The T3 class presents very clearly defined areas. In the 3rd year of schooling, there is a central space with a rectangle of tables, around which the children are seated, along with the teacher. One of the walls has wooden boxes with work proposals. There is support material above or below the boxes on shelves. On a part of a wall, in one of the four corners of the room, there are two letter boxes, a school press and a small composition table. In the opposite corner there is a small painting space, where the paper sheet can be affixed to the wall. In a third corner of the classroom, two small cabinets contain the books of a mini-library. The photographs reveal classroom walls with a lot of information related to the life and work of the group, as we will see later

on[85]. The images show a moment that can be identified *Telling and Showing*, where Tomás Prata presents a wooden construction of his own to his colleagues. While the room used that year did not allow the creation of work areas except in the four corners of the room, as it was only 18 square meter, the one used in the 4th year allowed for a much richer setting. Raul Bento thinks: " ... we had a small library too ... (pause) " and then he says:

> "I remember we had a corner for paintings, with different paints, and another, I don't know. The arrangement of the chairs, that I don't remember well. But... wait... I have an idea it was on islands, wasn't it?"

This organisation in islands is actually verified in the room of the 4th year of class T3. From this room, Sheila Castro says:

> "I think, our era was unique, it was a bit of a magical place, that at some point, we were fully aware that we were at school, that we were having a class, and that we were learning, but at the same time there was a playful side, and therefore learning was fun."

There are two documents filmed from the room used by that class that year. In the first, and during an already mentioned visit by the kindergarten children with their teacher to read a story they invented, the camera shows the classroom. On the right side of the door (in the middle of a wall), there are four overlapping wooden boxes with 7 dividers, each with a series of cards and a blackboard. On the left side, on the wall perpendicular to the door wall, there are some shelves and storage boxes and, on the side, one of the islands that Raul Bento talks about. Ahead, there is another island. Each of the spaces, with 3 to 4 places. When the camera turns to the right, it shows two smaller islands, and a rope screen, between floor and ceiling, which delimited the space and at the same time served as a loom. Behind the screen, two more islands with 2 or 3 seats, and another blackboard, covering an inner connecting door with the classroom next door. This blackboard is apparently moved to the opposite wall, as can be seen in the second filmed document, in the same class and classroom. The connecting door is now recovered, allowing circulation between the two spaces. As seen in this year and until 1993, the inner communication door remained open. In 1994, the blackboard once again covered the door, although the T5 and T6 classes used the two adjacent spaces.

Going back to class T3, in 1990, we can see on the left side of the entrance door, in front of the window facing the patio in front of the school, a table with two boxes for storing printing letters and a table with the school press. Hanging on the wall is an enormous cardboard box labeled *Interschool Correspondence*. Between the internal

[85] See "*Talking walls and transparent dossiers*" .

communication door and the wall next to the entrance door, is observed another rope screen, serving as a scoreboard: there are several papers hanging on the ropes, with clothespins. On the other side of the connecting door, there is a workbench with storage boxes for small items and boxes with texts, next to the reading space, with a mini-library, under one of the windows overlooking the street. Between the two windows, a closet divides the space. At the back of the closet there is a small bench with the necessary material to carry out small experiments. A girl can be observed picking up a proposal for an experience and gather the materials she needs to carry out the experiment. Selma Belo states in this regard:

> "Returning to the structure of the room, [...], we had something I thought that was really cool, which was the space of experiences, I must certainly talk about it, which made us, there it is, thinking, trying to invent. It pulled for us..."

The space has a bench and shelves with materials in boxes and cans. On one of the islands opposite, someone is preparing a Lego construction to work with the computer. In front of the other window, another island with room for 4 people. The organisation of space in work islands reminds Sheila Castro that there were no fixed places in the room:

> "No, I don't think we did [have]. I think we arrived and sat down wherever there was space, it was... the management was easy. There weren't many conflicts."

Next to the cupboard, as in other parts of the room, there are some wooden crates, painted yellow, with labels. Each child had half of one of these boxes, to store the material for the work in progress. Next to the closet, in the window opening, we see two guitars. Diogo Garcia testifies:

> "I also remember playing your guitar, it was more or less between then and playing with my brothers, that I started playing an instrument and became interested in playing a guitar, and that's it, today I'm a musician..." continuing "I remember there were couches and stuff like that, I remember going over there and playing guitar."

This area had yet another function, as Irene Querido remembers: "I don't know what was in the other window, one of the windows was the theater part, the other I don't remember. I know there were two!" A rolled up cloth, with an opening, made it possible to transform this area into a backstage space for a puppet theater.

Observations in the corresponding class room, visited the previous year, will certainly have given some clues for the reorganisation of the space, making it more functional when it breaks with the transmissive logic in the school shape of learning and schooling.

Concluding with the words of Sheila Castro:

> "So things were organised into little corners, and it was all very welcoming. And there were always surprises, I mean, there were always new things happening. And I think that made the year very interesting..."

Some photographs of class T6 from the 1992-1993 school year continue to reveal a space organised into work areas, although the central area is freer, as we could also see in class T2. There is still a painting space, another with books, while the tables are set in small workgroups. Vítor Abreu, a student in this class, describes the organisation of the space as follows:

> "I remember, we entered on the left side, on the right side we had a blackboard in a corner of the room, on the left side we had two computers. Then I remember that the chairs were spread out in the middle of the room, in the center, and that's what I was remembering."

The classes under Julieta Lopes' responsibility had the tables in small groups for four or five students. A part of the room was dedicated to the library. Several documents show it is also in this space council (assembly) meetings are held.

Differences between classrooms

From a more recent class, Carla Garcia remembers a room similar to the others already described. When she describes the pedagogical scenario of the T5 class, she does not remember very well if there was a *blackboard* in the classroom, but she remembers that "We worked a lot with what we had on the table, and we all went there to work together, help each other, at... round tables, what a joy... "
Ricardo Azevedo talks about " tables, chairs, lots of graffiti, ... ". According to Milene Neves, these tables and chairs allowed group work, since

> "We worked at tables in groups, they weren't static groups, we changed according to what we were working on. We worked on math cards, and there was a group that did math cards, this allowed us not to always work with the same people. I remember working with colleagues, discussing things with colleagues, ..."

Without ever failing to have the classroom organised in such a way as to allow the reorganisation of groups depending on the work in progress, in the filming of more recent years is to be observed there is a compromise between the decentralisation of the teacher-lecturer and the possibility to face the blackboard. This commitment normally translates into small groups of tables, around which the children arrange themselves in such a way that they always have some facility to observe the blackboard.
Documents filmed in classes T5, T6 and T7 show rooms with workspaces near the walls. In a footage taken during the preparation for a year-end celebration, we see the

kindergarten room with press space and computer space under the window and between the window and the patio door, a cupboard with material between the two windows and a space for a puppet theater on the wall opposite the door to the patio, right next to the door leading to the adjoining room.
The T7 class, installed in the same front room, has an organisation similar to the organisation that appears in the larger workroom, which the T5 and T6 groups used two years before. The space under one of the windows serves as a reading space. Next to the door tables, the computers can be seen, while there are groups of tables in a certain position, allowing everyone to see the blackboard from the side or from the front. This blackboard returned to the wall opposite the now again usable connecting door between the two rooms. On the wall opposite the blackboard there is a shelf with files and some materials.
The T5 and T6 classes, often working together since 1992, occupy the two front rooms. One room is organised with exposed tables so that everyone can easily see the blackboard. Specific workspaces are close to the walls. The other room presents the tables in groups of work, occupying the whole room. The blue cabinet, in class T3, used to separate the experience area from the theater and reading area, is now close to the wall, between the two windows, at the back of the room. Back in the entrance hall, it can be seen that next to the windows, there is a low piece of furniture separating the spaces under each of the windows. One continues to serve as a reading space, the other leaves room for an island of tables.
Despite the differences between classes, there is a greater difference with the school arrangement of furniture in almost all circumstances. And about this, Francisco Neto explains:

> "I was very proud of that organisation, and of showing others what we were capable of doing, we really liked it, new people going to school and us explaining how we were organised, what our whole organisation was like, I remember being there explaining this to other people, more than once. And [I remember] being proud, feeling grown up, I can explain how a class works... I remember that we loved doing that."

I tried to understand which didactic means were used and how they were used. How are they part of the school shape? Do they influence it or are they influenced by it? Didactic means such as Cuisenaire's rods or MAB blocks are not a *sine qua non* of the singular school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. More closely linked to the school shape is the arrangement of materials in the room and the way in which the whole room is organised in terms of extended autonomy in work and a de-centring of the teacher. The blackboard does not even occupy a central place in some of the classes, and none of them has the arrangement of tables and chairs in a row, typical for the grammar of schooling (Tyack and Tobin, 1994). Here, the focus is not on the

teacher, his knowledge and the didactic transmission of this knowledge, but an interaction with information and knowledge, available to all, is provided, depending on the work in progress.

Undoubtedly, the organisation of the space marks the singularity of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. Witness Vitor Abreu:

> "I went to the school-space, which I remember had a very homely atmosphere, it was something I didn't feel at school [where I went afterwards]. The organisation inside the classroom [at Voz do Operário da Ajuda] wasn't so rigid either."

Selma Belo reinforces Vítor Abreu's statement when he says:

> "I think we sat in groups of 4, at the tables, never two by two, and we always had the concept of learning as a whole, as a group, never as an individual. And I think this was very important and one of the things I still say today is that we are not equal to each other".

Therefore, it can be said many children are not seen as one taught child all transformed in a student that is the object of the teacher's relationship with knowledge he exposes to the class. There is an assumption that children are people who learn in a group, discussing with each other. The self-learning in cooperation Sérgio Niza (1997, 2012) suggests in many of his writings, when he explains the relationship with learning in the MEM, is also seen here, among students, mediated by teachers.

What other rituals exist in Voz do Operário da Ajuda that help to define the distinct aspects of its school shape?

More rituals that help

The questions

To the question *What set of rituals are recognised as belonging to the Voz do Operário school?* there were already several responses. From the fig tree and its importance in the playground, organisational rituals arise, from the organisation of work, rituals of planning and discussion arise. From the focus on project work and the attentive listening of adults to children, rituals to record and (re)product stories arise. All these rituals contribute for the community assuming the singular way of doing school, of which the estate reveals the production left at the moment and the testimonies reproduce through memory.

In the memoirs and in the documentary collection there are landmarks of other rituals in the classroom and at school, strongly associated with the way of doing school in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. There is the relationship with the kitchen and the

cook, the daily reorganisation of the rooms to transform them into lunch rooms, the exploration of the basement and the collective organisation of the annual Magusto celebration. There are former students of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* who even claim that there were no classes at this school, due to the difference they felt in relation to the hegemonic school shape of social relations in the minds of every child and every adult living in a schooled society, and with which everyone, even those who passed through *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, contacted.

What other contributions do explicitness and reflection on these other rituals bring to the discussion about the school shape in the schooled world? I have organised this point under four subpoints. In *"School rituals"* I gather some information about the basement, the van and some loose routines that emerged from the estate. In a more systematic way, I have grouped the information that characterises each of them in the other three subpoints. Thus, I focus on the rituals related to lunches in "*Lunch times*", and I systematise some information, especially around the Magusto celebration, in "*Times of fiesta*". "*Times of work*" obviously does not cover the entire work and its entire organisation, which is the subject of very detailed analyses throughout this whole chapter. However some aspects around the reading of the curriculum, a preview of co-assisted teaching and some observations about the collective work at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* deserved attention here, dissociating it from the concept of classes.

School rituals

When talking to the interviewees who attended the Voz do Operário da Ajuda when being a child, some words evoke memories, sometimes some laughter. Two of them are *basement* and *van*. In addition to these keywords, *confrontation with school rituals*, emerged from the testimonies and the assets analysed as well as *school organisation* and *routines*.

Speaking about a van and a basement

While the van is present in the memory of some former users, the basement is photographed and filmed a lot, mainly because, more than a workspace, it is a convivial space, conceptualising in a different way the multipurpose space that often is said when evoking school premises.

About the van, Carla Brito, as well as Raul Bento, Ricardo Azevedo adds a reference to the driver in the period when she attended school:

> "[He was] my friend, what did he become, Nascimento, the one in the van?"

One of the episodes revealed by Milene Afonso and witnessed by a filmed document, recalls what Francisco Neto told about the visits with the kindergarten, using the

teacher's jeep[86]. Seen from a distance, this is not an action related to the singularity of the school shape, but a lack of concern when it comes to small rides:

> "It wasn't exactly in accordance to the rules, especially given the current rules. Because the van was small, it was very small, it was a seven-seat van, or something like that, and we were in front, [...] there was another time when I started wanting to go the other way around, wanting to go at the back. That is, but not behind, on the benches. There was a back part, which was where some people had to go. I understand now this was extremely dangerous, which was in the luggage compartment where at least four or five people were going, sitting there, well, it was forbidden... it was dangerous. [...] That there was any problem, there never was, in fact, there was never anyone who got hurt, or anything, fortunately, but that's it"

From what I understand, this situation is typical of the period when Milene Afonso was a student at the school. Until two years before, there was a larger van, with which this type of situation was avoided. Then, for short distances multiple go arounds or the assistance of individual cars came in use. However, there is a filmed document from 1994 in which the driver leaves the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* with the T5 and T6 groups, to go to the gymnasium, on the opposite side of the quarter. On the sidewalk, a queue forms behind the nine-seater Toyota Hiace van. To get in line, children climb over the protective railing in front of the patio gate, while the driver places children in the back and front seats. When he comes back to open the back door, a police car stops in the traffic queue and goes on its way as does the van.

> "I remember taking ***pictures***, but... in a basement??"

The phrase is from Carla Garcia. There was a basement. As Francisco Neto evokes:

> "There were things that happened beneath the classroom (laughs). It also had a very... esoteric charge, for us, the basement was a very esoteric thing."

When reaching the end of the corridor there was then, as Jorge Carvalho says:

> "On the left side, if I'm not mistaken, we had stairs that went down to an 'open space', that's where we spent our after school time."

Clarisse Rosa refers about Jorge Carvalho's class:

> "It was with this group: there was a huge table, in the basement, which ended up being dismantled and damaged, and eventually it had no legs; they took advantage of that table to play games, various games and adventures. And eventually we made a theater out of... that table was part of. It turned into a

[86] See above.

> boat. That came about because it also gave me ideas, based on the games they started to play inside the table. They turned the table upside down, imagining that the table could be several things and so from then on we made a theater that took place a lot inside what had been a table. And that was in the basement,..."

Jorge Carvalho and Clarisse Rosa talk about the central part of the basement, which has, in all, exactly the same accessible surface as the ground floor with the 5 rooms, the kitchen, the hallway and the bathrooms. Raul Bento remembers that the basement housed the teachers' room and the after school-space. Judite Pinheiro completes:

> "In the middle, between these two rooms, there was an exhibition room, and I think that in the first room we had a carpentry office. I vaguely remember that there was wood, that we worked with wood, but then it was something else like that, ... that."

The basement appears in thirty-one photographs (9% of the total), covering the entire period from which the documentary collection was analysed. Seven of the twenty-three analysed videos contain sequences in the basement. Most refer to work samples, festive moments, presentation to parents of the camp albums. Some record conversations with visitors, received in the basement, when they came to talk to more than one group.

So we see, for example, children, accompanied by Dora Agostinho, responsible for selling juices, at a celebration, where their parents are waiting for their turn to be served. At another moment, the basement serves as an exhibition space and we see people consulting posters and documents displayed on tables. In one of the filmed documents, the children present the result of their indoor camp to their fathers and mothers, ending the presentation with songs from the region they were in and studied. Two filmed documents present expositions about the Carnation Revolution. In 1994 there is an exhibition about the history of the school.

More than the exhibitions, many remember the free time activities that took place in the basement. As Diogo Garcia, Irene Pires, Carla Brito, Selma Belo and Sheila Castro report it, Tomás Duarte also tells:

> "... it was in the basement, at the bottom, ... the basement was also ... maybe it was like that, because we were small and lived in an imaginary world, everything was, for us it was a spectacle, and that basement was targeted... I think that it's normal... children's play."

Milene Neves adds that, when it rained a lot,

> "we went down there. And we played downstairs, and the only thing I remember playing downstairs was a trunk full of clothes. It was my favourite

> thing... running away from the playground to stay there, play there, explore the trunk. ***Me:*** Explore the trunk? ***Milene***: Yes. I remember doing shadow theaters, with sheets, I remember... what do I remember most? I don't know".

Sheila Castro also remembers these theatres, but Francisco Neto adds that the basement was also magical because:

> "there were some tiny windows, where we could see the focus of light entering, and the dust passing through the light, something completely magical, the light was off, and the light came in, it was a very magical thing..."

Julieta Lopes confirms:

> "Ah! The basement; the basement was where there was a ***witch*** (laughs)."

The school organisation: complicity and encounters of the enriching kind

Without referring to a specific school culture, it exists and is related to the singularity of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school shape. The class photographs are the same in any school, such as the classic image of the T2 class with the teacher, in the playground, under the fig tree or the farewell photograph, also in the playground, of the T3 class with the correspondents. But complicity or brotherhood is expressed in small, occasional events. The difference does not always facilitate the relations with the school world outside the Voz do Operário da Ajuda. There have already been references by Irene Pires and Francisco Neto about the difference they felt between the two worlds. But there are other events, after Voz do Operário, such as the episode that Milene Afonso talks about in relation to the teacher who forced them to line up at the classroom door, concluding:

> "I had to regulate myself a few times, so I was confronted with a reality of the traditional, so to speak."

Despite the complicity, there are times when people insist on doing what they usually do at school. Francisco Neto mentions that a classmate was a reference for him in everything that was reading and writing, except for what had to do with cursive handwriting:

> "I remember having that in mind. Seeing that, 'hey man, really, B., each time has, each time writes faster, with this handwriting', and she wasn't in the least worried about the thing about the cursive handwriting. But I was faced with [a dilemma], so much so that I changed. And then I found out later that ... it was awful ... that it wasn't accurate. I was saying all this, because of the differences that I felt, between Voz do Operário and the other schools, so basically, the references were the issue of the cursive manuscript and homework."

Even with the proudness to show the school was different from others, when the weight of the norm was felt, it was sometimes difficult not to choose for the norm.

Even adults themselves sometimes reproduce classic situations. A filmed record, from 1996 starts with the basement and an empty chair with a table in front of it. The camera moves backwards and reveals all the children, sitting cross-legged on the floor, therefore in a lower plane than the one supposedly going to sit on the chair, reproducing, probably without this intention, the distance created between stage and platform. The guest must have noticed the situation, because he went to sit on the same level as the children, also cross-legged, in front of the chair and table, looking the children in the eyes. The interviewee was Álvaro Cunhal[87].

On the other hand, asserts Julieta Lopes, a class with always the same teacher,

> "moulds a lot. 4 years, it forms a child's personality a lot, so this can be dangerous. It was one of the things I questioned myself. I liked it a lot and, I mean, for me it was very important, but I think taking children from 1st to 4th grade can be dangerous. In any case, at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* and at the time there was a class for each school year, because in the end there were no more, this was also the common practice. But I question myself a bit. Because, oh man, because I know how a person can influence a child even without wanting to, and, ok, I'm on the left, if the child spend four years with a reactionary girl, imagine, it's not (laughs)."

Probably here Julieta Lopes considers the capacity attributed to the school to "manufacture the citizen" even if this can be questioned. As Milene Afonso mentioned, the influences come from several people, and pass through the school. In a way, the social construction of school reality is doubly present in the following observation, also by Julieta Lopes:

> "Once, I was in the basement, solving some problem. There was a project group there, and there were other kids doing an evaluation form, lying on their stomachs. And then there's a little "perpineta" (slyboots), who arrives downstairs, and says to another: "what are you doing there?" and she "I'm doing the evaluation form". And the other says: "There are more important things to do, you'll be on time for the project" (laughs). If I were a teacher I wouldn't have said that now, but since I'm not anymore, I'm at ease."

The familiarity of the school

Many of the ways in which Voz do Operário da Ajuda operates, and much of the school style, are marked by a certain distance from the impersonal rules typical of the

[87] Álvaro Cunhal was the most emblematic president of the Portuguese Communist Party having had an important role during the troubled years after the Carnation Revolution in 1974, he himself having been for years political prisoner. He was therefore admired even by his political opposers. His visit at the school had to do with a large project regarding that Carnations Revolution.

bureaucratic institution. What has already been referred to as a family environment is part of a school culture, as Francisco Neto states:

> "... it was a very familiar environment, wasn't it, the assistants were older people, with a different kind of culture, but we felt that they were trying to transport the culture we had in the classroom to the playground, we didn't feel it as a culture of classroom, but as a school culture, that whole issue, the class diary, any conflict that happened was to be resolved (?) through dialogue, we had this very much in mind, trying to resolve things through dialogue, [...] and I remember that they participated in this culture as well."

This school culture begins, as Francisco Neto mentions, with the involvement of all the people who make up the restricted school community, and it is facilitated by the great openness that existed among the teachers to share what was happening between the different classes. School culture is based on this coming and going that Clarisse Rosa evokes:

> "Yes. There was a lot of exchange between teachers and there was a lot of exchange between students, so students went to the other classrooms, this also happened, we went to each other's classrooms to show things, many of the older children, and [even] with the kindergarten [...] we went to each other's room, showed what was done, invited each other, so there was a great openness here, between teachers, and between students."

An openness that was reflected in the following year in the preparation of the aforementioned brochure *"Our school"* but also in a filmed document, which shows the educator with part of her group to present to the T3 class, then in the 4th year, a story invented by them and a session of questions and suggestions for the text.
The documentary collection evidences a school culture, at the time that I observed in detail, through the classes of Clarisse Rosa and Julieta Lopes first, Dora Agostinho, Julieta Lopes and myself afterwards. Margarida Faria and Ana Oliveira, mentioned several times in the testimonies, no longer had a class at school at that time. The first took on the role of internal trainer in 1987 and regularly visited the school in that capacity, the second transferred to a public school in 1986. Another teacher participated with her class in writing the brochure *"Our school"* part of the school's teaching staff for just over a decade, transferred to the Graça school in 1990. After Ana Oliveira, two more educators will pass through the school until 1999. During this period, another class of a teacher who spent several years at the institution, both in Ajuda and Graça, appears sporadically in the document collection. The T3 class worked with Lurdes Caldas for two years, while the T4 class worked with a passing teacher for two years, before the arrival of Dora Agostinho. The T5 class started the 1st cycle with two different teachers, one of which was passing through,

before starting to work with Julieta Lopes. This means that throughout this period, none of the classes from which I collected testimonials, except for the T7 class, stayed with the same teacher or the same teacher during the 4 years of the primary school.

People first

In addition to people from the restricted school community, the wider community is also mentioned, including fathers and mothers, who always had a strong presence throughout the period under analysis. I gathered some information about their relationship with the school and with the people of the school later on[88]. In many situations, one can see a very active intervention by the fathers and mothers, attentive to failures, even available for painting school walls and small repairs. Milene Afonso even points out some more ridiculous situations, resulting from failures in the organisation and the fact that the building is not a school building:

> "I don't know if this matters, I know that, in fact, there were these issues and, well, it costs, it costs a little, it doesn't, it costs me, for example, to know that my parents made a huge investment, including financial ones, to have us in that school and we often didn't have basic things (emphasis on the word) like toilet paper in the bathrooms, for instance. I think that many times the physical conditions, including the building, were quite deficient."

Even so, Clarisse Rosa considers that in most circumstances the relationships were clear:

> "I don't know, the feeling I have is a little bit like that, of wanting to get involved in things at school that I don't think would be much ..., for the parents, but I didn't have any big problems with the parents.
> Here I am mixing it up a bit too, because at the time I was the school principal, and these memories come to me more as the school principal than as a teacher. Because I think that, thinking about my students, I think I never felt that in relation to the parents of my students, within the work, within the context of the classroom."

During the visit to the Belgian correspondents, the T3 class learns about the structure and organisation of a Flemish school, at the time run by parents and teachers, and which was born from an initiative by parents, embodying a project based on Institutional Pedagogy. The parents and mother who accompanied discussed the organisation with the Belgian parents and got to know the school more deeply, continuing to discuss with the Belgian parents who accompanied the corresponding

[88] See "*With adults and between adults*".

class the following year, on their counter-visit to Lisbon. But before, as well as afterwards, whenever there was a threat of the school's extinction, fathers and mothers mobilised to take charge of its maintenance. Julieta Lopes refers to the impressive work done, at a certain point, by a group of parents who formed a parent association.

Interhelp at school

Interhelp is visible in several ways. In the documentary collection there are albums that were only possible because adults encouraged children to work collectively. A good example, in terms of content and execution of the work, is *"The story of the lost wolf",* an album of 8 A3 pages, in which each page contains a sentence and a drawing on a coloured background. The drawings make it clear that this is a story invented by kindergarten children. It is not dated, but the last page reveals authors and illustrators, 6 in all. The names suggest that it could be the T5 class, the number of names explains that it is a work carried out in cooperation, therefore promoting mutual help.

The Story of the Lost Wolf

Once upon a time there was a wolf who lived in a cave.
(drawing of a cliff, the sun and clouds).
One day he came out of the cave, out for a walk, he went to a city and got lost.
(drawing of houses, sun and cloud on a pink background).
He was full of fear, there were many people and many cars.
(drawing of the sun, a cloud, a car, a figure (the wolf) and two human figures).
Then a boy appeared. The boy didn't know who the wolf was, he even thought the wolf was bad.
(drawing of a figure (the wolf?) and a child, plus a round object, in color, on a pink background).
But the wolf was quiet and did no harm. The boy took the wolf to his house.
(drawing of a large cloud, a boy and a small house under the boy, on a coloured background with watercolour).
The parents were scared but decided to give him food.
(drawing with three figures in red on a coloured background).
The parents helped the wolf back to his cave.
(Drawing with four figures representing living beings, a sun and the letters MPAAPAR on a coloured background – watercolour).
Authors and illustrators: Inês, Catarina, Patrícia, Margarida, Tânia, Manuel .

While the mutual help between children allows the production of many original works, the mutual help between adults allows reflection on the practice. This reflection appears in many of the affirmations of the interviewed teachers. However,

both for Julieta Lopes, when she returns from a two-year break in Guinea, and for Clarisse Rosa, who, shortly before, spent two years in Belgium, the classes became more challenging. The first finds that:

> "And I was a bit... I remember having a hard time getting to grips with the group, because it was a very heterogeneous group",

while the second says:

> "having found a class with students with completely different problems from what they used to have at *Voz do Operário* before going to Belgium."

Clarisse Rosa also mentions that it is at this time that the school openly opens up to children with special educational needs. This work requires new reflections and new discussions. It leads to reinforced forms of mutual help, between adults, between children and between adults and children, facilitated because, as Francisco Neto says:

> "We knew that the other classes all worked like ours, so we had this awareness as well [...] – I don't remember any particular exchange with another class, but I remember that we had this awareness and everyone worked there with the same type of organisation."

With this new reality, and for children bearing trisomy 21 and have personal obstacles to overcome, it is necessary to create personalised and often very simple work tools. To help those who have motor problems and therefore difficulties in training legible writing for themselves and others, exercises have been devised in which spaces are delimited for writing words, for example. With those who have difficulties in articulation, the questions to ask are trained, for the question and answer session with the mayor of the municipality of Portel during a indoor camp. In research activities, in the field, during a camp setting in Alvito, alternatives are foreseen for those who get tired more quickly.

In classroom work situations, specific support for those with motor or brain injuries is integrated into each person's work plans. The rules, valid for everyone, allow for everyone's autonomy with regard to entering and leaving the room, with or without accompaniment, during the expression *workshops.* Everyone participates in the same way in the elaboration of rules, even though the adults pay extra attention to understanding them, avoiding hasty judgments when two people with trisomy 21 are involved in a complaint from the person in charge of the class library, due to a book that they the cover tore [89].

In other filmed documents it is possible to observe how those having more difficulties in handling mathematical objects are supported to discover the characteristics of one or another solid, as well as in varied tutorials, facilitated by the fact of joining classes

[89] See *"A Council called assembly"*

for transversal activities, triggered by study visits or other school outings.

Instituted exchange

The exchange that stems from mutual help and which, in turn, gives rise to new cooperation, is part of the instituted practices.
Interhelp exists in professional terms, but in some cases it goes further. As Clarisse Rosa says:

> "... I found a friend in who I think was my mother's age, Guida, I even think she is older than my mother, therefore a person who could be my mother, but with an experience and a way of being in life, and with an openness to things... which helped me a lot. On top of that, being with her every day, and not having what was happening in public schools at the time, and now maybe it happens too, which was [of] each one shutting himself in his room, and working alone, without no one knows what I'm doing in there, it didn't happen there. Because we worked with open doors, and each one went into the other's room, without any embarrassment, and without it causing any problems and that for me was therefore an [important] thing: Guida said 'Why do you do it like that, because I don't know what' and I never saw it as, I always felt it as a possibility to grow."

This openness to talking to each other about what was going on in the classroom was also felt by those who were students at the time. As Sheila Castro says:

> "And then there was an interesting thing, many times we had the classroom open, the door open with Dora's room too. Which was an interesting thing; it wasn't always, but many times, and that was also a unique thing, we had the freedom to see the other class, the whole interaction."

Sheila completes:

> I remember Dora, you know, the other teacher because we interacted a lot with her and, in fact, she also went with us on the visit [to Portel]."

This information corresponds with a statement by Dora Agostinho herself:

> "I remember, for example, that at the time, we were already doing many things together with the 4th year, with you."

The joint work between the T3 and T4 classes is partly recorded in two filmed documents related to the preparation of the indoor camp in Portel, the indoor camp itself and the work that follows, which evolves into a set of writing activities and the exploration of mathematical problems .
The partnership between groups continued when the T5 and T6 groups camped together, first in Peniche and Berlenga Island, later in Avis. Following this work, Julieta

Lopes comments,

> "What I later did with Dora for a long time — that is, I loved language and studying the environment, Dora was very fond of mathematics, she is very good at mathematics, and then — we worked together. I worked on the language, Dora worked on mathematics and the two of us worked on the study of the environment. We worked like this for a long time, I don't know if it was good or if it was bad, maybe it was bad... For me it was very good because I made my taste, language and the study of the environment, [but] Dora was with little practice in language. Since I left, It didn't matter to me, and since she stayed on, I don't think it was very good for her."

Even with a minimum of bureaucracy and administrative activities which has, as Ivan Illich (1972) already warned forty years ago, due to the nature of institutions, a tendency to consume more time than the time devoted to the task of teaching itself, Clarisse Rosa still comments:

> "I remember staying practically every day and way beyond what was school time."

The staying at school was mainly to deal with pedagogical issues, in weekly meetings, as mentioned below.

About routines

In the documentary collection and in some testimonies there are records about work routines, some transversal to several classes, others confined to a single class. The most significant are listed here:

- The multiplication tables contest appears in different aspects in different classes, but always as a small training moment a few minutes at the beginning or end of the day. A set of statements were kept in the estate, as part of evidence for continuous teacher education sessions organised by the *Instituto Irene Lisboa*, in the early '90s, as well as a partial record of results.
- Inventing problematic situations and then collectively search for solutions is also part of the routine in some of the classes. Some of them were published in e-book (Narciso and Paulus, 2006).
- For the management of responsibilities and tasks[90], there are several routines. A set of support sheets , existing in the T3 class, should facilitate the understanding of each of the tasks and the rotation between the various class members. This rotation also existed in other classes. Francisco Neto says:

  > "They were rotating. Weekly. They changed weekly. And we were sure that we were all going to do all the tasks, that we were going to experience all

[90] See "*Responsibility by the group in the group*" .

the tasks."

- As we will see in the third part of this chapter, one can almost speak of a routine in inventing collective stories that evoke the Carnation Revolution, as for example with the album *"Before and after. Over the ages; From time to time, things change"*[91]
- The opening of the school year, sometimes with the help of the parents, was, according to Clarisse Rosa, an important routine:

  "the opening of the year was also a moment, like an important routine. I remember having a lot of concerns, not only as a teacher, but as the director of the school, at that time, that things went well and about the image that was transmitted from the school to the outside."

The set of school rituals analysed help to understand how the school is perceived by those who participated in it, embodying proposals and working principles that sometimes resemble relationships between adults and children outside a formal school context, but in others show a certain school shape in which subjects profile themselves as actors in cooperation. Some of the information in *"Lunch Times*" can only reinforce the evidence for a unique school shape.

Lunch times

A quarter of the former students interviewed refer to lunches at school. One in three speak of the cook and the school kitchen as something more specific to the school. Here I return the information grouped around the keywords: *lunch; cook; kitchen.*

lunch at school

Usually lunch was served in the classroom. As Jorge Carvalho points out, this required regulation coordinated by those responsible for the daily task:

"I remember that we had lunch in the classroom, and, of the things that I am most aware of, it was responsibility, so I think yes, if I remember, there was someone responsible for lunch"

Francisco Neto confirms:

"I remember us eating in the classroom, this is also nice, this went until the fourth grade, I think almost always. One time it was in the canteen, but usually it was in the classroom."

Vítor Abreu gives some more details:

"I also remember that the meal — here comes back to that *family school*

[91] Original: *Antes e depois. Ao longo dos tempos; de tempos a tempos, as coisas mudam*

> relationship — it was one, it was something quite ... I remember that *Dona Henriqueta* came with the trays, we ate in the class room all together, and that we talked while we ate, again there wasn't much separation... (pause)".

Among the filmed documents there is a video that reports a day's work in the room of the T5 and T6 classes, which Vítor Abreu was part of, in 1994. A complete sequence of the lunch preparation and lunch is shown here. Those on duty carry the baskets, helped by one of the teachers. Then each one takes out their set: a plate, a glass and cutlery. *Dona Augusta*, another school employee, puts the soup bowl on a separate table. Everyone helps themselves to serve soup, handling a large ladle each in turn. The diners sit where they left their set and eat the soup. Meanwhile, some children go to fetch the jugs of water. After an image cut, we see the teachers, sitting next to the children. While some are still at the soup, others help themselves for serving the unique dish consisting of spaghetti with minced meat, from a tray.

Clarisse Rosa remembers this administration, in 1989, with the T2 class:

> "They were also complicated moments from the management point of view, because they collided a lot [with work times], we had to reorganise the room, because they ate in the classroom, having to stop the work we were doing and reorganise the room for lunches, picking up the dishes, setting the tables, which was done by the kids but which also ended up being very much based on our work as teachers."

It was not always easy to resume work in the afternoon:

> "I remember having some kids with whom, at these moments, I was even a little in shock. One of them was Milene, who was extremely slow to eat (laughs) and didn't like most things."

In the spring lunches were sometimes served in the playground. In one of the filmed documents, we observe the children having lunch outdoors, always in small groups, in the playground. Therefore, the students of the T3 class do not seem to be very surprised when, in the correspondents' school, on a day of good weather, everyone goes to eat a meal of bread with cheese or charcuterie and fruit, in the playground.

The kitchen at Voz do Operário da Ajuda was not the size of a canteen. Jorge Carvalho remembers:

> "... Dona Jú, who was the cook, and then, this has to do with the kitchen, we weren't really allowed to go into the kitchen, except for the older students — obviously, that was my case — and those who were there for a long time, and then we were going there. Including free time, because even with the kitchen closed, we all had access."

In one of the few photographs of the kitchen, we see the cook, and one of the employees with two adults and two children preparing sandwiches, perhaps for an outside activity. A close-up of a filmed document shows a bench where the cook is working. Next to her, another employee carries a large pan to a homemade sink, above which a water heater, also domestic, can be seen. To the right is a workbench, with curtains underneath and plywood cupboards above. In another plan a little further on, we see, behind the cook, a small industrial stove, built into an open chimney. Next to it is a stone water tank with a wooden lid on top and a copper tap.
In this kitchen, tells Irene Pires,

> "We still participated [...]. I don't think we cooked, but we took the leftovers, the dirty dishes, to the kitchen, I think."

Milene Neves, on the other hand, says:

> "I remember participating in cooking, making patties, making soup, I remember that, I remember."

Ricardo Azevedo, Sheila Castro, Selma Belo and Milene Afonso also talk about the cook and the kitchen. The latter mentions that the cook...

> "...once in a while she didn't know what to do and said: 'What are we going to eat today?' and basically we decided to have lunch, which was fun (laughter). Basically we could eat whatever we wanted, whatever we felt like."

The cook, who had her daughter at school, treated the children as if she were their mother. Milene Neves adds:

> "We even participated a little, I don't know if it was a privilege, it could have been a privilege, a little for me and JC, as we didn't eat anything, and I think the [cook] let us eat in any place where we were, it was a scandal. Everyone wanted it, and so João and I did. I remember that the [cook] loved us, I don't know, maybe it was a little bad (laughs)."

Maybe that's also why, as Clarisse Rosa says, the cook *"had a relationship [...] that I found very funny, with the parents".*

Lunches at camps and indoor camps

Many of the camp albums bring the menus for the days when the groups will be away, which normally happens once a year, for a week. This is also the case for the Portel indoor camp album and the Arrábida camp album. In the document that portrays the indoor camp of Portel, lunch is shown next to the house where the T3 and T4 classes were housed. During the camps, according to the planned visits, picnics or snacks were taken to the work sites, as can be seen, for example, in the document that describes the Alvito camp. Accompanying parents and children distribute bread and juice at the agricultural museum, where there was a break

around some large tables.

Times of work

I save the detailed analysis of the interaction with knowledge in Voz do Operário da Ajuda for subchapter 4.3, so many moments of work are present there. Likewise, it includes in subchapter 4.2, which deals with the relationship with power, aspects of work regulation, focusing on autonomous work. These are working times typical of the simple way the school is organised. I limited myself to grouping around the keywords *curriculum*, *physical education*, *music, there were no classes* and *classes,* collective moments under the responsibility of the classroom teacher or a supporting teacher in the case of music and physical education.

There were no classes? Collective moments...

Collective moments abound in the analysed collection. The filmed documents show regularly, varied situations, around schooled problem situations or not so much. From the non-school discussion about programming in LOGO, to the very school-like discussions about the planning of solids, passing through group work around the camps, or even text editing work, the examples are *legio*. From the T3 class we find in the album about the correspondence with the Leuven class records of collective work. Documents such as the *analysis of the attendance map ,* or *records about the layout of the room,* suggest collective moments with the T6 class in the 1st year of schooling. In a moment of work in the classroom, a logical problem can be discussed, based on a statement given by the teacher. A draft of an unpublished article about the content analysis of a class newspaper is another example, as are the collective projects that the classes developed.

Dora Agostinho says about work:

> "Sometimes it was very diversified, to the point of having nothing to do with the curriculum. Other [themes] had more... anyway, there was, for some more than others, there was care to see whether or not in terms of the program [the subject] could be explored, but there wasn't always that concern. ***The*** concern was even if they wanted to do it or were interested in doing it and were curious,..."

Julieta Lopes corroborates this idea:

> "I always took advantage of [their ideas], and then, based on a theme, there were several sub-themes, which lasted, sometimes, up to a whole year. Once, Guida did a study on a work we had done. She came to the conclusion, she compared this work with the program [official curriculum], in all areas, and came to the conclusion that only that project had covered the student's entire curriculum for that school year. What as for me, I never had that concern."

The topics addressed on many occasions were not, however, completely disconnected from everything, in most cases. First because, reminds Julieta Lopes,

> "Lately, I don't know why, I thought that, if there was a program, it was really to be fulfilled, it had to be, isn't it, and so, they had the right to know what they had to learn, and I posted the programs on the wall, and the team for the day would pick up something, if there was nothing that was already scheduled, they would choose what they wanted to work on that week, and then we would do the evaluation."

Then they evaluated because, as Clarisse Rosa explains:

> "... what they did at the time was not only based on their proposals but also [based on] program management. So I remember that I hadn't always done it that way, but with this group, [I did] a survey of things in the program."

The statements speak of autonomous work, its planning and studies, camps and correspondents, as well as text work. However, both Irene Pires, Milene Afonso and other interviewees refer to the absence of classical school classes. The first considers that they didn't even miss them in their later school career, while the second thinks that this may, eventually, have caused them some problems in the school after Voz do Operário da Ajuda. In almost all of the testimonies, there is no reference to "lessons given" or else it is considered that they were non-existent. As a whole, collective work is not seen as a situation of transmission of knowledge. As Diogo Garcia states:

> "The traditional concept of the person pointing at the board and the students looking? I do not remember this."

Just a little more explicit, Francisco Neto says:

> "Classes specifically on a subject, I don't remember (laughs). I remember, in a collective, isn't it, in collective moments, the teacher introduces new themes, decimal numbers or whatever, moments in a collective, but I don't exactly remember there being a class, with the sense of "*let's learn this subject, and when the class is over, you will know*", no, not that, I don't remember that."

Clarisse Rosa thinks that the way in which they worked is not associated with what is known as classroom situations:

> "... I think the moments of collective work, in which the teacher is at the forefront and gives a lesson, was basically [the case in] the moment of work on the text, in which the teacher assumes a role in front of the board, but the intervention, the participation belongs to everyone, and therefore, it is not exactly the teacher at the front giving the class."

In the filmed document that reports the indoor camp of Portel, there are several moments in which adults explain matters, and give information to children. With

varying attention, they listen to the explanations of a pastor, two potters, the mayor and a artisanal olive oil producer. About the information that was gathered in this way, plus what was collected in small working groups, a final document is presented, which is then kept in an album. What makes Julieta Lopes question, when we talk about collective activities: "all life, everyone participated there. It might not be directed, but it was collective."

Clarisse Rosa agrees and considers that children:

> "did the investigations and searches there and so, and then, basically, the presentation was also in a collective, but they were the ones who presented and I guided [...] this presentation. So there was a role, at that moment also more important, but of organising the speeches and trying to capture what was most important in what they said."

In the camps and on outside activities, interaction with knowledge takes place in a certain way in an enlarged place where the school shape of social relations manifests itself.

... and assisted classes: physical education and music

In the logic of offering extra activities, something specific to the private school, *Voz do Operário,* Ajuda included physical education and music classes.

Physical education was not given at school. What many interviewees remember is going to the gym, wherefore they had to go around the quarter. Raul Bento, Tomás Duarte, Ricardo Azevedo, Irene Pires, Carla Brito, Irene Querido, as well as Judite Pinheiro and Milene Afonso, all remember, more or less, what Jorge Carvalho describes:

> "Physical education was done at *Academia Recreativa da Ajuda*, which was very close to my house. We walked to the gym, and we had a teacher who gave us physical education classes. [...] I remember, at the Academia Recreativa da Ajuda, everything was carpeted, and we had some green carpets, and in principle we had, I don't remember very well, we went there two or three times, [there were] some changing rooms, and we did fitness."

Milene Neves especially remembers the way to the gym, for other reasons:

> "I remember... Ahhhh, I remember going to the gym. I remember going to the gym and on the way to the gym we would walk outside the school. ***Me***: Was it far? ***Milene***: No, it was on the same block, on the other side, so on the parallel street, we had to walk down a street that was still a little long, I remember silly things too, which doesn't matter (laughs). I don't know, I remember hitting my head on a pole, because I was distracted (laughs), I remember singing a lot, with my friends, with the twins, what else do I remember?..."

Most of the time, as Julieta Lopes says, " Gymnastics was done in the gym, therefore outside the school. And it was with another teacher, they would leave and go to the gym." This gymnastics in the gymnasium is illustrated by a film from 1994, in which children are seen performing a series of exercises under the teacher's command. There were times, as Carla Brito remembers, when classes were organised at school, and given by the class teachers themselves. The organisation of these classes could be planned together, as we see in a filmed document discussing what to do when the physical education teacher is not there.

Sporadically there were moments of real interaction. At the time when the T3 class was struggling to understand how to express speed as a ratio between two quantities, some timed runs over precise distances and noted in various ways helped to fix knowledge about the concept. However, in most situations, the children went to class, which for some was physical education, for others gymnastics, apparently without interconnection with schoolwork.

For music there were also specific moments in the week. The statements refer to two different teachers.

Irene Pires doesn't have very good memories, especially of flute lessons:

> "So I think that *Voz* insisted a lot on this type of extracurricular activities, we had music – I didn't like music very much, but I think it was also something that I didn't associate only with the teacher, I think it was very castrating. For example, he wanted to learn the flute, which he thought was the best, to play the flute, and he, as I cheated on my reading of the note bar, which I didn't know how to read, and saw through the drawings instead of the bar, what holes did I I had to cover it... this is my feeling... I remember he realised that and went to tell my mother that my fingers were too thin to completely cover the hole of the flute and then I would never be able to play well. And today I don't play any musical instrument and I'm very sorry. OK. But I can fight that too, can't I?"

On the contrary, like Jorge Carvalho remembers with enthusiasm playing the xylophone in music classes, Milene Neves also enjoyed the classes:

> "Ah! And I remember the songs. I loved the music classes. I think it was on Fridays, and there was a teacher called ... José Calhau or something, and he appeared on television, and I remember really liking it, because he had a lot of routines with us. We arrived and started clapping, practicing rhythms and then we evolved from week to week but it was always the same way."

Francisco Neto links music classes with other activities, namely with projects and work around studies on the Carnation Revolution:

> "I remember the presentations we did, which included theater, music, we had a very good professor of musical expression, whom we liked a lot, who was

> José Alberto Calhau, and we worked, for example, on wolves, 25 of April[92], or other projects that we did, then we presented to the parents the theater that we did about that subject. And some played instruments, and in music classes we also rehearsed, it was also very cool."

Clarisse Rosa is of the same opinion, when she remembers:

> "... the exceptional work on music with Zé Alberto, I think that in terms of relationships and the work that was done, in music, in connection with us, it was a very good job, ..."

Diogo Garcia and Carla Brito remember that there were music classes in the basement, but they also remember other moments of music, with the class teacher. In fact, there is a small excerpt from a play that was taken to the correspondents, and which had both sung and musical parts.

Ricardo Azevedo remembers the evocation that was made within the framework of the 20 years of the carnation revolution, where "*São Macário*" was played and sung with the new music teacher. He says:

> "The songs (laughter in the voice). What we sang It were fantastic songs, I should record a CD. ***Me*:** Do you remember any of the songs you sang? ***Richard:*** I remember. Do you want me to sing a little? (singing) *São Macário, São Macário came to shore, São Macário came to shore, ay came to shore at the Maranhão pier, ay came to shore at the Maranhão pier.*"

This evocation was recorded by a father or mother and was found in the documentary collection of Voz do Operário da Ajuda. Before the song, there is yet another musical recreation, with *Orff instruments*, in front of an attentive audience of mothers and fathers.

In addition to evocations, related to projects and camps, there are also moments of music specifically designed for the end of year festivities. In a way, music generally seems more integrated into the rest of the work than physical education, both in the documents presented and in people's memories.

Times of fiesta

In this last point I return the information that I grouped around the keywords *festivities and diploma delivery*, *magusto, magusto (organisation),* and *sale of work*. The magusto celebration was emblematic for many years at this school. Organised by the entire school community, it also mobilises everyone. The other festivities don't differ much from usual school rituals.

In the statements there are references to the Carnival parade, organised by the parish

[92] Carnation Revolution date.

council of Ajuda. One of the filmed documents shows a year in which mothers and teachers help children to prepare. This is followed by the parade itself, of which Ricardo Azevedo says: "When it was carnival, I dressed up as a captain (laughter in the voice)." But normally, says Judite Pinheiro,

> "We made [...] the masks, but different things, that is, I remember a year when, instead of being the seven dwarfs and snow white, it was the seven snow whites and the dwarf. And we were the seven snow whites, we made plaster masks."

The collective making of the masks and the organisation of the material around a theme, followed by the parade on *Calçada da Ajuda*, are also part of the memories of Fernanda Queirós, Selma Belo and Melissa Lousada. The latter also mentions that "a year we even won, what was it like, the *xéxé*[93] it was?, eh... " . Melissa Lousada concludes her observations by saying that Carnival also introduces the last part of the year:

> "After Carnival there were the preparations for the camp and then there was the end of year festivities, with the farewells, always with a lot of emotion, it was the students who were finishing the fourth year and who were going to leave school, so it was also a very important moment."

The usual festivities calendar.

But starting at the beginning and following the school calendar, the Magusto celebration is the first festivity of the year. Carla Gouveia remembers them in reverse order:

> "The end of the year, the Christmas, the Magusto festivity, I think there were three...
>
> [...] The end-of-year is always the same, a little nostalgic, the fourth-year one, that was really..., so it was the end-of-year festivity, when we would all go away, we wouldn't see each other for months.
>
> The Christmas festivity were also very nice, because on top of that, the parents always participated at Christmas, there was always something cool."

A special festivity: the Magusto

Melissa Lousada explains that "the first was the Magusto festivity, it was really nice, there were lots of games and work to do and raffles".

From the Magusto celebration, there are images of children working at different work places and selling objects. Class- or school newspapers were sold during the event. The photographs and some filmed documents testify that most of the other objects created in the production *workshops* are exhibited and sold at this same annual

[93] The name of the "award" for best group given by the parish council

festival.
Raul Bento confirms:

> "I remembered the clay because of the sales. Obviously the parents wanted to buy the work done by their children."

Around the party there is a collective mobilisation, by work groups. Among the preparation tasks is the cutting of chestnuts for cooking or roasting. In a photograph, we see girls, probably among the oldest, in the school kitchen, around a large bowl preparing chestnuts.
Through the set of photographs and filmed documents that report some of the Magusto festivities, we can see the degree of participation in the organisation by the children. In one of the videos, we observe the organisation's explanation right outside the school door. We see how the children responsible for selling tickets serve the public and manage the box. We noticed the organisation in which the teams of children once again participate in the kitchen, on the Magusto day, when they deal with the delivery of drinks and snacks.
Carla Gouveia confirms these images:

> "I think even, when we were older, like in the fourth year, we took more [responsibility], we were going to participate, but we were even a little bit managers, a little bit of seeing if everything went well, that has to be there, I think it was no longer just participating, [...], we sold the newspapers, we sold the little things we did, in our free time... I think that was it, isn't it... "

In the documentary collection, we find the organisation of the work teams, the sale announced, the products are displayed in one of the rooms, while in others there are counters for selling cakes and juices. Boiled and roasted chestnuts are offered to visitors who had donated them to the school in the first place. There is a room with raffle tickets and in the film that accompanies one of the festivities, we see parents walking around and looking at the objects on display in that room and in the sales room. One of the rooms serves as a traditional games room. At the end, there is, in the raffle room, an auction of non-raffled objects, in which one of the parents acts as master of ceremonies, letting children and adults do the bidding.
Carla Garcia and Irene Querido remember the activities better than Sheila Castro. The latter mentions:

> "I remember us making a Magusto, with some brutal activities, but I can't remember them. Well, I don't know, I don't remember Magusto. I am immensely sorry. From time to time I try to think about it, see if anything comes to mind, but I can't remember, man, I get furious, I wanted to remember the famous Magusto, but I can't remember."

Christmas, a more recent festivity

The Christmas festivity was not a very important event during the period under review. It was only when the parents' association, which emerged from an intervention in 1993 directed to the Voz do Operário general board, to avoid the closure of the school that year, brings closer together fathers and mothers of groups T5, T6 and T7. They give some expression to this event as a kind of retribution of fathers and mothers, for the school community that set up Magusto. Melissa Lousada mentions:

> "it wasn't that nice, the Christmas party wasn't that nice, because, yes, we did some little plays, but it wasn't very exciting, also because the Christmas activity was never at Voz do Operário, it wasn't on the premises of Voz, it was somewhere else, so, well, it ended up not being so, so welcoming, it wasn't, we were out of place."

Contrasting with Carnival and other festivities, I did not find any photographs or footage of the Christmas party in the collection from that period.

End of year

Like at Magusto, also at the school year-end, the various school rooms were transformed into showcases of diverse and original objects, made by the children. Different from the beginning of the school year, there are now exhibitions of work resulting from the camps or school projects, of which the presentation of the history of the school itself and the history of Lisbon are just two examples.

The end of the year festivities include traditional songs or mini plays, as we can deduce from the videos that portray these moments, both for the kindergarten and for the other classes.

At least once, the end of the year includes a feast in the patio in front of the school's door, where we see the school community mixed with the population of the patio itself and the neighbourhood fraternising.

Jorge Carvalho evokes these festivities as follows:

> "Yes. There were the school festivities, every year, at the end of the year, we were encouraged, hmm, to make drawings, and paintings, for the school festivities, which were then sold, hmm, at the end. I still remember that at the end of the year, each class had to write a yearbook, and I remember going to school, my father was there, plus my grandmother [...] and I asked my grandmother to buy a drawing I had done, which was a drawing for school. And she obliged, because that was also symbolic, wasn't it?"

With a more professor's look, Clarisse Rosa talks about the same festivities:

> "These were important moments, because they were moments in which we

> tried not to have just a moment of celebration, but a moment of work balance, for the parents, and therefore there were always some exhibitions, and some presentation of the kids' work and socialising" .

Only on one occasion is the *delivery of diplomas* mentioned in a video that accompanies the T5 class at the end of the 4th year and where we see Julieta Lopes handing each of the children who have finished the 4th year a *diploma*, Carla Garcia refers to:

> "Besides... that's all... there's another thing, the diplomas, it was a collective valley of tears, [...], so Julieta handed over, along with the [official] certificate, a diploma, not the one of Voz do Operário, which I also have, mentioning the conclusion of the first cycle, isn't it that, and in which there's a cat, the image of a cat, and *"I Julieta, I declare"*, but in a joking tone, isn't it, humorous."

This last subpoint explained routines and rituals existing in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* and associated with the way of doing school. The outside activities were sometimes requiring the van, sometimes quite improvised, with even a certain disregard for the correct observation of transport rules. It was referred to by the created situations.

The basement of the building has a specific meaning in the memories of those who were part of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school community. As a multipurpose space, it is an exhibition space, a music classroom, it serves as an extension to the classrooms of the different groups and is used to receive visitors and guests, within the scope of work projects that children and adults have in hand. In addition, it serves as a recreational space on rainy days. The basement is used as it is, thus becoming a somewhat magical space in the memory of some. It was not appropriated by the school but rather it appropriated the school, inculcating a particular flavour in its management.

The school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is also influenced by the internal organisation of the school due to the characteristics of the places where the class groups usually work. The fact there is no canteen interferes with the entire relationship that the groups create with the space where they spend the day, with characteristics that are more domestic than institutional. In this context, the institution's impersonal rules and norms, the same for teachers and students, defined in their respective roles, are not effective. The school has to be managed at every moment according to the use that is made of it. Lunch times show a close relation between adults and children, where an organisation based on responsibilities and assigned tasks allows the daily reconversion of a work room into a lunch room to return to a work room.

The playground and the trees in the playground are extensions of the work areas available in the classrooms themselves. In the classrooms, the pedagogical scenario

shifts away from the teacher, to a greater or lesser extent, and centers on work and cooperative activities between adults and children. People organise themselves according to the activity at hand. The collective moments, more than classes, are moments of interaction, interconnected with the activities carried out in small groups. The specific didactic means of school teaching and learning are few and are mainly directed towards mathematics. An organisation of space stands out becoming itself a kind of didactic means conditioning a way of doing school based on self-training in cooperation, mediated by the reference adults, the head teachers of the class. These are assisted by other teachers, by visits, family members or not, and by guests, at school or during camps and school outings. School festivities, and especially the Magusto and the end of year, are part of the didactic proposal inscribed in the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. They allow the sale of products from the expression *workshops* and are a stage for the presentation and representation of cultural works created during study and project times involving the entire school community actively in the management of events.
With little space and little time for transmissive moments, reduced to the necessary systematisation, the very concept of a class is different. During working time, there is space for the collective organisation of learning, exercise and training, for individual and mediated intellectual activity of each one and for the organisation of forums in the form of the Magusto party, the end of the year or exhibitions, making the action gain meaning as it is the result of the constant and collective effort of the subjects involved.

Relations between people and towards power

In the first subchapter of *Genesis of a welcoming school*[94], and under the title *The space-time of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda* I tried to analyse and understand some pedagogical aspects of the school shape that pops up from the revived reality of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. I now will analyse the relation towards power that stems from this specific school shape. The third subchapter will focus on the interaction with knowledge in this same school.
I therefore focus here on the presence of power, the exercise of power, the relationship with power, on the part of children and on the part of adults, in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. I do it through four glances. The first one is on collective accountability, in "*Responsible as a team*". What instruments are used? How are te people organised in their tasks and responsibilities? These are the starting questions. A second look, the longest one in this subchapter, is on the organising

[94] Originally the empirical part of the underlaying academic work *Uma outra forma de fazer escola: a Voz do Operário da Ajuda*

and regulating instrument of all of the school's classes in "*A Council called assembly*". How is this made explicit, with what possibilities and what limits? How is it located at the crossroads of institutional pedagogy and MEM, based on socio-cultural learning theory? How does it support collective learning? A third look scrutinises the "*Relations between people*" in this school shape which, as we saw in the first sub-chapter, is given an image of familiar environment from part of the interviewees. Does this relation between people go beyond the relation between the adult in their role as a teacher or school employee and the children in their role as student, the fathers and mothers in their role as family in charge? A very short fourth look deals with part of the documentary collection in "*Relations towards power*" opening space to understand how in this school the relation with power and knowledge manifests itself.

Responsible as a team

The questions

In this first point, I try to understand how are remembered and described instruments that in the pedagogical project are announced as those that allow the exercise of power in the context of the classroom. Who uses them and how? What are the limits that these instruments have?

How is accountability perceived towards oneself and towards the group, depending on the work context, is the question for *"Responsibility by the group in the group"*. In "*From person in charge towards the team of the day"* I try to understand the distribution of power giving functions in the group. In "*The adult's responsibility*" I try to understand to what extent the power of the adult is different from the power of the child, in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* class groups.

Responsibility by the group in the group

I identified, with the keywords *accountability* and *responsibility,* some memoirs and a set of documents that explain the responsibility that is evidenced as a collective responsibility.

Guided responsibility for own work

In the personal estate I found tools for verifying the work in common in the sense of personal responsibility and co-responsibility. One of these instruments consists of a table with two entries, with children's names vertically — here students from class T3, in the 3rd year of schooling — and horizontally series of numbers, which identify a certain group of cards, interspersed by a column identified as *"test card".* A set of documents presents horizontal bar graphs, with the name of each child on the

vertical axis and the number of cards made. In one of them, called *"Mathematics cards (from 9/10)"* the beginning of the week is identified in each bar, so that the variation in the number of cards made from week to week is visualised. In other documents, the same does not happen.

Another document with the title *"Who fulfilled the plan"* shows the evolution of each of the children in the class in relation to their ability to regulate their work. The group tends to evolve towards greater rigor in the execution of its work. The last weeks of June are not filled, probably because they coincide with the journey the group made to meet the correspondents. As can be seen in some of the filmed sequences, the weekly routines, at the time of preparation and subsequent work in relation to that journey were changed.

The document collection regarding the same class group includes a set of maps of annotated attendances that suggest a collective reading of attendances and absences throughout the school year. These maps are clearly made by different children. There are at least five different writings, with the September map filled in with the teacher's handwriting. There are few absences.

From this class, there was another table with two entries, which, like all the others, presents the names of the children, plus the name of the teacher, and which is titled "*competence belts*". On the horizontal line there are three groups of entries. The first group reads *"+ / - cards", " x cards"; " division cards " ; "problems / logic" ; "reading", " grammar", "spelling ",* followed by two blank columns. In the second group we find "*inkt press*" and "*behaviour*". Below these references and next to each name there are small circular stickers in various colours.

The third group of documents refers to *"day responsible"*; *"drawings and readings"*; *"newspaper text"*; *"correspondence text"* and *"free text"*. Small dashes reveal the number of occurrences for each of the children, in each of these entries. By counting the total day responsibilities, after 46 days of the beginning of the school year, there is only one in which the teacher was responsible. The coloured stickers clearly refer to the colour belts of institutional pedagogy[95].

There are photographs from different years that illustrate the information shared. Among them, there is one from the T2 group that fixes the informational wall where can be seen in the upper left corner, a notice-board with *"The class laws"* and underneath some rules of action in the room:

- *I always do the best I can.*
- *I'm careful with the material.*
- *When the teacher or a colleague speaks: - I shut up; - I'm paying attention; - I wait he finishes before asking a question.*

[95] See Volume I *Contributions for a welcoming school*

- ❖ *When I work: - I don't speak; - I don't respond to those who talk; if I have doubts, I'll talk to the teacher or a colleague.*
- ❖ *When I finish work: I don't bother anyone, I work on my plan.*

In a photograph of the T3 class, next to *"our laws"*, we see an informative poster with suggestions:

Don't you have anything to do?
– Have you finished your project yet? – Have you finished your plan yet?
you can always: – read a book; – resolve a card;; – work for your responsibility; – clean up your things; – support a colleague; – write a text; – copy your text to the textbook; – make a drawing; – write to your correspondent; – leave for 5 minutes to get some air; – sleep or get bored.
you cannot : – scream, run in the room; – disturb others, who work.

Underneath, five sheets, one with the title *"Are you responsible for the day?"* followed by a text that is not readable in the photograph but which is presented as a support-memory.

Next to this text, there are four more sheets with information:

productive workshops	language workshop	Math and science workshop	Handicraft workshop
(yellow) apprentice, does not work alone. (red) worker (green) team leader. (blue) technical. (brown) specialist.	* Library. * spelling file. * Copy corrected text to the textbook. * Work for collective correspondence * text interpretation card.	* Math cards * Magic square book * Invent a problem * Solve the problem of the day (if any). * Work one proposal of the experience space (no more than 2 at a time).	* Any silent workshop (clay, drawing, crayons , etc.) * Painting (max. 2) * Noisy workshop: only with the authorization of the person in charge of the shop on days when you can work outside the room.

Vítor Abreu, who was a student in the T6 class, with a similar organisation, says:

> "Yes, I remember those pinboards (long pause). I think that, once again, there is (pause) ... it is connected to ... the idea that we are a little more responsible and ... it is more freedom so, more responsibility (laughter)."

Irene Pires, former student of the T2 class, refers to this collective responsibility, based on the information available to all, when she explains:

> "I remember that as a class, things were a bit complex, because I think the difference between Voz and a public school is that Voz was a more complex system of organisation, because it demands more, eh, there are certain ..., the rules are different. They are more centred on making the student responsible, and for example the maxim was a categorisation by colours..."

The complex organisation makes formerly T7 student Melissa Lousada say that:

> "At least, at the time... it caused... a lot of impact, because things were taken very seriously, the students were very dedicated, the teachers were very dedicated, ..." .

Responsibility was not limited to the organisation of school and curriculum work. In addition to the evidence of children's participation in the interpretation of the compulsory curriculum, there are tasks that result from the successive decisions taken. On the wall of the kindergarten, presumably in 1991 or 1992, we found a poster with the title *"Task-board"* and with the headings *"Take care of the parakeets / terrarium"*, *"Feed the fish"*, *"Map of the weather"*, *"Map of attendance"* , *"Calendar"*, *"Water the plants"*, each one with space to put the card of the name of the child with that task .

In the photograph showing part of the organisation of the walls of the T2 class, below the explanation of the colours, a cardboard with sachets with the title ***"Tasks"*** appears, in which the following are identified: *"painting", "computer", "library", "correspondence", "attendance", "cards", "material", "booklets", "newspaper"*. It is noticed that a label with the name of the child responsible for the task is placed on the respective sachet. As we will see later, the children were really responsible for part of the organisation of the class.

Responsibility can also be seen in the organisation of the Magusto celebration. We see in a video from 1995 ***"the animal club"***. Teacher Julieta Lopes arranges with the children to introduce the Animal Club to visitors to the Magusto festival. In the discussion, Carla Gouveia, then a student in the 1st year, repeats it is necessary to make parents members of the animal club, because the cooperative's money is not enough to cover the costs of feeding the rabbits.

Finally, the preparation of camps and indoor camps[96] is everyone's responsibility.

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[96] Object of analysis below. See "*Taking ownership of 'out there', working inside and outside*"

Students organise themselves (or are organised) into small work groups. Some photographs that I found in the archive of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, identified as from the 1992-1993 school year, actually show a group of children presenting in the basement documents referring to the Montachique camp of the T2 class. They apparently present the preparation or collection work to an audience not visible in the photograph, presumably parents.

Teachers support children, who are informed and responsible, in managing their own work. Irene Pires[97] says:

> "That is, this was in the sense that we had to be responsible, we could assume that we wanted to be lazy this week, and do only one math card and three reading cards, but we had to do this at the end of the week or do this self-criticism: 'we made it, we didn't make it, and how it went and so on'. This was really, really...funny. For now, it allowed me, it allowed me to see what I liked to do the most, for example, I wanted to do more of those cards, and then there were always those that I did less, because I didn't like it so much, and there were some indications from the teachers themselves: '*be careful, you're not doing much of this, and maybe you should do a little more*'."

Ten years later, this practice continues. Rita Silves, a student in the T7 class between 1995 and 1999, mentions:

> "... we had a responsibility there, which was not like in other schools, at least according to what I have spoken with other colleagues. In the other schools it was: you have to do this now, Tuesday you will have to do that, and not at Voz, we planned what we thought we needed to do, which, well, since we were all different kids, not everyone had the same difficulties, and we, there, each one knew what they had to commit more to, whether they had to commit more to Portuguese or Mathematics, depending on what they needed most, and that responsibility of being us to distribute the study..."

Carla Gouveia, who was in the same class, concludes, when she remembers the collective and individual planning:

> "So, I don't know... We had a lot of freedom, a lot of freedom coming from responsibility, ...".

This freedom coming from responsibility goes through small deeds. Vítor Abreu[98] extends it to a way of self-regulation, when he says that there was no bell at school,

> "which is something that exists in almost all schools, but I think it is a good example of *Voz do Operário* obliging us... I would say obliging — but it

[97] Student of the T2 class between 1986 and 1989

[98] Student of the T6 class between 1991 and 1993.

> developed a certain ... we had to be aware of (laughs) [. ..] — of having a certain responsibility, knowing when we had to leave, when we had to enter. Not having that thing of: "*here's the bell, let's go, everyone inside*", this gave us more responsibility in a certain way, which I think was an interesting thing, which I didn't find in the schools where I went, where I was follow."

From performed task towards task management

In addition to accountability for work and work management, there are regulated tasks, both inside the classroom and outside the school. When the T5 and T6 classes are on a camp in Alvito, in 1994, we see one of the working groups conducting an interview about the history of the Municipality. Each one is responsible for a set of questions and Carla Garcia together with another colleague, has the task of recording the interview. Teacher Dora Agostinho, who accompanies the group, just participates in the conversation, having, like each of the students, a small notebook.

Another filmed document shows the beginning of a planning moment in the classroom. While students and teachers combine the organisation of some activities, each of them organise themselves on a planning sheet that each is given by one of the boys.

The work in the classroom includes taking care of the responsibility or the assigned task: we can observe two children who are reorganising the library in the room of classes T5 and T6. They are interviewed, later on, by those who filmed them and they explain the logic they used when separating the reading books, the research books and the notes made by colleagues and teachers for the studies.

As Irene Pires mentioned, responsibility was taken very seriously. There are records that show that there was an evaluation of the work of the person in charge. Raul Bento[99] says:

> "... I have the idea that there was someone responsible for the painting, but I don't remember what the responsible person was supposed to do. But I have an idea. Hmm... more stuff..."

This type of responsibility is considered delicate, so there is a prior observation, as if it were an internship. Regarding Raul, I found this Council meeting decision[100]:

> *"Raul has a week on probation for his 'paints' responsibility."*

If all goes well, the decision is made:

> *"We accepted Catarina as responsible for cleaning."*

Accountability is present when there are problems in the use of common spaces.

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99 Student of the T3 class between 1987 and 1991.

100 On council meetings, see page 311, *"A Council called assembly"*

We found decisions like:

"Paulo cleans the bathroom when wetting it "

It is not clear whether this type of decision stems from suggestions by the person in charge of cleaning or whether it arises from the analysis of a situation. Anyway, part of the cleaning was done by the group. Vítor Abreu tries to remember the tasks and assumes that there were routines:

> "... I don't want to say anything barbaric... ***Me:*** But you can (laughs). ***Vítor:*** I don't remember anything, I just remember that we were cleaning the school. Or not? But I had some vague idea, at least I remember doing some things like that at one point. I don't remember if it was after certain activities we did that we had to clean up..., clean things up..., or if it was in another context."

Cleaning is part of the tasks assumed together. Observing a photograph from 1994, we register a child with a mop cleaning the classroom floor. The room is empty, still with some objects to arrange.

There are tasks that are more clearly taken up in the organisational responsibility that consists of coordinating the work or helping with its execution, but also in the preparation and care to be taken with the material. The responsible is not the task worker in service of others. The room, everyone's responsibility, is therefore treated by everyone. Or as Carla Gouveia explains[101]:

> "The room could not be left in disarray, if we ran away for playground and the room was left in disarray, we would call immediately, nobody does anything until this is done."

He goes on to talk about other responsibilities related to the animals they had at school:

> "... again, the responsibility, we had to know how to take care of the rabbits."

In the T3 class, we see Diogo Garcia, responsible for the printing press, after printing, cleaning the lead letters with a cloth and the appropriate diluent. But the work of the person in charge is mainly organisational, as shown in the support sheet for press responsibility:

[101] Student of the T7 class between 1995 and 1999.

Printing press

* you dominate the press perfectly
* printable teams of three forms
* forms teams of two to compose and decompose texts
* notifies the assembly of necessary purchases in time (paint – cleaning products)
* always controls the team that is at the press:
* errors in the text
* number of right sheets: 60
* cleaning after finishing
* letters, rollers, tidied inks
* you have the right to stop a team that disrupts or that does not work well
* keep a record of the number of times a team works at the press to avoid future discussions.

Therefore, being responsible is also solving problems. In memory of Jorge Carvalho[102]:

> "... when we were given responsibility for a certain area, we had to take care of that area. If it was equipment, therefore, the new distribution of equipment, well, register, how to clear doubts. That is, if there was a friend who needed to clarify a doubt in this area, whether it was computers, painting — how does it work — we were instilled to clarify the doubt. Only then would the teacher come. That, I think it was like that. I don't know if the person in charge of the area, on Friday afternoon, had a preponderant role, in the evaluation of the activity he had or not. I don't know if we got to evaluate everyone's work, but clearing up doubts yes."

There are several photographs of the T2 class in which the group tidies up the room, preparing it for lunch. There is a concern for all the material to be tidy.
Lunch in the class room is something on the minds of many[103]. For some people, talking about responsibilities is like talking about organising lunch. Raul Bento[104] remembers the task:

> "Hmm... I remember setting the table for lunch. There was, I don't know if it was a week or a day, there was someone responsible [for] setting the table, that is, setting the dishes, we ate in our classrooms."

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[102] Student of the T2 class between 1985 and 1989.

[103] above , "***Lunch Times "*** .

[104] Student of the T3 class between 1987 and 1991.

Even with vague memories, regarding responsibilities, Milene Neves[105] states:

> "I do not remember. I remember that we had some chores too, what was our responsibility for the following week, whether it was the cutlery, whether it was lunch, ... ah! I remembered something...!"

There were several orders for those responsible for lunch. In class T3, the function is described as follows:

lunches

* organises teams that take the basket to the kitchen
* arranges replacements when someone is missing
* mark every day who does the service so that there are no discussions later

It differs from the function in the T2 group, remembered by Irene Pires:

> "we, in the room, had a head waiter — each table would have five, six, seven students at the most — and there was a person responsible for seeing everyone was going to dump the leftover food, that everyone was paying attention at meals, in class, if everyone had tidied up, and that person would be the one who would also go to the kitchen, do things like that."

The video reporting a day's work in the room of classes T5 and T6 in 1994 shows the preparation for lunch and lunch itself. Here, who is on duty brings in the baskets with plates and cutlery. Afterwards, each of the children and adults help themselves and look for a place to sit.

Some people evoke other responsibilities. Jorge Carvalho says:

> "I was, I remember, I was in charge of the computers, in that year, it was, maybe by period, I don't know if it was necessarily throughout the year or if it varied each period, right, until Christmas, until Easter, it varied. I no longer remember if we applied to be responsible for a certain area, or if it was distributed by the teacher. I also remember being responsible for the paintings, the lunch, I don't remember; but of paintings and computers, yes."

The management of activities at the school is assumed jointly, on a visible basis of trust. As we have seen[106], at the Magusto, paintings, small objects from the production *workshops,* raffles and vouchers for cakes, juices and games are sold. The children handle the money and, at the end of the day, it is counted by one of those responsible.

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[105] Student of the T2 class between 1985 and 1989.

[106] See supra, " ***Times of Feast*** " .

This reliance is valued by Sheila Castro[107]:

> "I mean, that year, we were given a lot of trust, I think that, that as human beings, this is very interesting. Because, as a person, I already had a series of responsibilities, and I think I was at a stage where this was very important for me, but I believe that, even for the people around me, I think, I think..., it was ..., it was..., it was too '*ahead*'."

Milene Neves argues along the same lines:

> "Clear. I remember be being, also from a desired perspective in the environment, I also remember being very self-responsible. I always remember the story of the division of tasks, daily, daily, which were divided weekly, I remember. It marked me for life."

In 1993, teacher Julieta Lopes takes the T5 class and part of the T6 class, together with the corresponding class from the Voz do Operário head school, to a risky camp on Berlenga Island, which I will talk about later[108]. The children were between 7 and 9 years old at the time and she remembers:

> "... the Berlenga's Islands were very complicated, very difficult, we had to walk on rails, with seagulls on one side and the abyss on the other, and it was a dangerous camp, and it was the first time I saw that, in reality, our kids are self-disciplined, when necessary and because they know it has to be."

Carla Garcia once again associates the responsibility she felt as a child with what she felt after Voz do Operário da Ajuda:

> "...it's just that I think that the work that I remember that we did at that time, it was fundamental for my entire academic journey that I've had, in the sense of making me responsible, for making me realise that really, what we do it depends on ourselves. It depends on the energy we put into things and the awareness we have while doing it. This comes to mind. Really."

Observing the tasks and responsibilities allow to perceive that those responsible have organisational power for their area and that they perform tasks whenever necessary. I now try to better understand this organisational power. Before finishing this part and moving on to the point where I analyse the council, here referred to as the assembly, I still look at the day responsible and the day's team, as well as the teacher's responsibility.

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[107] Student in class T3 in the 1990-1991 school year.

[108] See below, " ***Berlenga, Peniche, Alvito , Arrábida*** " .

From person in charge towards the team of the day

The organisation of responsibilities is based on the organisation of work meetings, generally referred to as assemblies. Judite Pinheiro[109] remembers the people in charge of every meeting:

> "... there was a president, there was who read what was good, what was not good and what was more or less, and there were the rest to intervene."

Francisco Neto[110] speaks of this presidency, as of the main responsibility among all responsibilities and tasks :

> "I remember being president, right, I don't remember being secretary, I remember there was the president, which is logical, it's that task that most represents power, isn't it, and that's a bit the number one task, it's not, manly... (...) but I also remember there being this question of the attendance task, I don't know if it was to see if everyone scored, or if afterwards it became really the attendance [as one more] responsibility, I don't remember that anymore, but I know that there was that task. And [there were] tasks related to the animals we had in the room, feeding the animals, the fish, the ones we had in the room, and the plants..."

Thus, we observe the T2 class, gathered in a circle, where President Jorge Carvalho, during the Council, writes down the decisions that are taken. Before, he had given the word. Then he remembers the schedule for the week ahead. At the end, the secretary reads what was decided. In classes T5 and T6, gathered in the room's library space, Carla Garcia, the secretary, reads the paper on the wall[111] where she wrote, as head of the library, in the column "*we didn't like*", an incident with a book. After reading it, she ask the chairman of the meeting to speak. From there, a discussion unfolds, about the responsibility or not of who tore the book, which will remember that the person responsible has the autonomy to solve matters, avoiding having to discuss them in the Council, where the power resides[112]. Those in charge, but also the day teams, assume the presidency in rotation. It is the group that regulates the organisation of space, time and work within the context of the classroom.

Some testimonies of some class practices recall a more self-managed power such as that of Fonvieille's classes, reported by Hess (1975) when he talks about discussion groups, but we also recognise the importance of participation, of the role assumed

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[109] Student of the T5 class between 1990 and 1994.

[110] Student of the T1 class between 1983 and 1988.

[111] See below, "*The wall journal with diary features*"

[112] See below, *"A complex and cooperative relationship"* .

by the child and to which Fernand Oury refers to as "*métiers*" (Vasquez and Oury, 1977; Pochet, Oury F, Oury J., 1986; Lafitte, 1985). More than an occupation, in the case of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* it is about assuming a function. Authority is gained by the function one exercises, but this function is changeable with others in the class. The function of responsible for the day or, later, of the daily team, always appears as rotating and on a daily basis. The teacher is not, or is only exceptionally, day responsible.

Responsible for management and day responsible

The most remembered responsibilities are those related to lunch, to the detriment of responsibilities related to work organisation. However, ten of the twenty-one former students interviewed evoke them. Two of the three teachers speak directly about it. Close to forty documents (10%) of my personal archive that I kept from the Ajuda School, show this facet of the work. The photographs from the 1988-1989 school year focus on the responsibility for organising lunch. In the only set of photographs of the T2 class, out of a total of ten, three evoke the organisation of lunch. One of them shows a group of children setting the table, while some are discussing, observing a distribution of tasks, supervised by another child.
Jorge Carvalho's memoirs are no exception to the rule:

> "... it was the responsibility, so I think yes, if I remember, there was a person in charge of lunch, there was a person in charge of drawings, there was a person in charge of computers, which I was for many years, yes, when the project started, I was in charge of computers and I think I was for a long time."

The vivid memory related to the entire organisation of the lunch, since kindergarten, makes Francisco Neto say:

> "... it included the lunch part, distributing the cutlery, helping to bring I don't know what, water, ... I remember we had that right from kindergarten too."

For him, the tasks related to the collective responsibility of organising the lunch space made it easier to understand the organisation in the 1st cycle:

> "More, now, more at the primary level, that's it, the organisation deepened, didn't it, we also grew, there was, we had more responsibilities, more things to manage, ..."

Co-responsibility is evident in the photographs that describe one of the school's parties, the magusto[113]: at the cake stand, a child exchanges cakes for tickets given to him by adults or children; the sale of tickets is the responsibility of another group: a team of two children registers that sale. Those on duty have a string with a card

[113] See supra, " ***Times of Feast*** " .

around their neck. The card identified who was on duty on a given task and at what time. A previously organised scale allow to manage the turn shifts of the teams. On this scale, all classes in the school contribute, and each one signs up. In class T6, 1st year, there is a register where, in a table with two entries, the words *"juices", "cakes", "passwords", "sales"* and *"raffles"* appear as *"task"*. Apparently, every child signed up for one of the tasks, and for half an hour's work, between 5:30 pm and 7:30 pm.

There is a cooperative management of the group. Interactions are valued by adults, children are encouraged to take a stand, to discuss and consult in group, to look for solutions. I have already mentioned the information made available in the classroom, which allows children to control the organisation of their work, and we will see later how, in all the classes of which I found iconographic documents, there is, on the wall of the room, equally important information, to facilitate this cooperative management.

From my personal archive, relating to the period of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, the logbooks of the T3 and T4 classes provide information on the Councils and the type of decisions taken therein. They present those responsible, and how they were chosen, by vote or by consensus.

There is the same estate, but only for the T3 group, a set of support cards[114] explaining the role of each of those responsible, as if it were a "trade". It is mainly in the T3 class that there are great similarities with the "*métier*" mentioned in Fernand Oury's Institutional Pedagogy. The card with the description of the function and inherent authority delegated to the child who will occupy this function is more in line with the functional power in a democratic and bureaucratically organised society than in the community managed with the participation of all. There were descriptions for those responsible for the training cards, the experience protocols, the national and international correspondence, the management of free texts, the class newspaper, the class textbook, the means of production: the aforementioned press, the duplicator, the artistic *atelier* and the painting *atelier*. There is also a description of the role of the child responsible for the library, the exhibition table, the collective school material and the waste material. There is a card for those responsible for the plants, the attendance map, the weekly plan and the cardboard for registering upcoming projects with a to do list of subjects to be dealt with eventually, in small individual studies, or, in small groups, and which wait until there is time and means to resume them. Furthermore there is a description of the function of the classroom's accountant and two cards for generic "support". Some manager functions are not listed, such as the computer or the daily responsible.

There is evidence that, in the classes where I was a teacher, one of the functions or

[114] Among them, the chard describing the work of who is in charge of the press. See supra.

responsibilities assigned is that of accountant-cash of the classroom, passing the management of the financial part of the cooperative to the group, as we remember from Freinet, but also from Oury. In the personal estate I found the *"accounting book for the 3rd and 4th years"* and a record of expenses and income for the T6 class. In the accounting book there are records of entries and exits. In the entries it is often noted what it is about: newspaper sales in most cases. On departures, we record stamps and letters to correspondents, paper, and expenses not listed. Apparently, the cashier and accounting were handled by two children, contradicting the idea that responsibilities were assumed in rotation. In class T6's expense and income register there is a grid with two entries with the names of all the children and their quarterly contribution to the cooperative, making the overall contributions of parents in the Voz do Operário visible for the children. On the right side, a series of bills with some references to the expense: painting paper, plastic, scapulas (linocut?) and clay are on the list. Apparently at this time there is no or little money earning by the class groep itself.

The explanatory card for this accountant function contains the following information:

accountant

* In the notebook you have two columns: one for the money coming in, the other for the money going out.
  * Enter all entries in column A
  * Enter all outputs in column B
* It's important to register everything right away!
* Weekly, you check whether the money in the box corresponds to the difference between column A and column B. (A – B = box). When there is more than 1000$00 in cash we deliver half to Dª Augusta.
* Only give money to those responsible who have the right to buy material.

It was not possible to see whether money management, in other classes, goes in the same direction, but there are some photographs and video documents in which we see children managing money during school festivities.

I also did not find the role of each responsible person explicit in other classes. As we will see below, it will be more through dialogue in the assembly that the class is defined. In several video documents we see those responsible acting, sometimes more as task worker, other times more as responsible:

- In a reading of the minutes at the end of the Council, one of the members of the presidency says, among others: " The group that does studies cleans up the material that it has messed up" dismissing someone with the function of control: the Council

simply decided after a group discussion.

- During a game of clues in the Alvito camp, it is possible to observe the leader of the group deciding how to interpret the information that should lead to the next post. Only when he seems to have doubts the other elements of the group intervene, discuss together and return to the place where the first doubt arose.
- Through the videos that report Magusto, in at least three different school years, one can understand there is a collective responsibility for the success of the event, in which children and adults from the entire school community cooperate. At the opening of the event, each child receives the card mentioned above, which indicates their time and task. Meanwhile, some go to the class newspaper manager helping to sell newspapers to visitors.
- Supported by a physical education teacher, whoever is at the box-office sells tickets and calculates the change that is needed to be given.
- In games, with the support of a mother, a child receives tickets, resets the game and gives instructions to those who are going to play. Co-responsible in the organisation, they perform their task for a while. The rest of the time, they enjoy.
- The preparation for the annual camp involves a meeting with mothers and fathers. It is the children who handle the entire presentation. Reading the organisation of the days also makes one understand the responsibilities and tasks of each one, for the execution of the whole.

One of the duties of the person responsible for the day is to regulate the conversation. We observe the T3 and T4 groups, visiting Portel, in which the day responsible gives the floor to those who want to ask questions to the various interlocutors. During a visit to a potter, the child in charge is reminded that she has stick to her function avoiding everyone starting to speak at the same time.

Being day responsible is a position that gives a lot of power, even if regulated by the collective, entitled to evaluate the performance of the person responsible. Milene Afonso even remembers how this responsibility gave her the possibility of forcing others to carry out work, attributing regulatory authority to the function and not to the person:

> "Hmm, the truth, maybe I don't speak in my favour, but anyway, from time to time I have the idea that I'd loved to be day responsible, which was one of the things we talked about, to impose a little more order than it was [normally] to see if we could hurry. (laughs) Because the truth is that if I wasn't responsible for the day, that's it, [the others] wouldn't want to know, maybe I wasn't so comfortable, to say, for [my] opinion to be [heard]."

Another function of the day responsible consisted in guiding the group to physical

education classes[115]. Milene Afonso is severely critical of going to the gym outside school, often without an adult accompanying her:

> "So I had a great responsibility (...). If this went very well at the National Stadium, then, many times, which was even closer, it didn't go so well, there, in Ajuda, right? To go to the gym, it didn't go like that. Therefore, we often went unsupervised and from time to time there were some, some detours."

Milene Afonso remembers an extreme situation that she considers serious. Was the trust placed in children exaggerated with the adults considering that they understand the role of the responsible and, therefore, do not question the representative of authority, established by the rules defined jointly? On a walk to the gym, some colleagues went to pick flowers in a field at *Rua Aliança Operária*:

> "There were syringes, and therefore, today I have the notion that there were some real risks, and, well, not as easy as all that, is it? [It was] to the point that one day, J. actually grabbed one of these syringes, full of blood, and took it to school, and she only told me when we got to school. So it was, you see, how does she carry that, she kept that rubbish, but she only told me when we got to school and I got scared, because there was blood, wasn't it, and I thought it was better for us to say that we had found it. And that's it, anyway, they tried to explain to us at least that we hadn't done the best thing, had we, or that she, in this case, maybe she hadn't done the best thing which was to have taken the syringe, because it was dangerous, etc., but I remember not quite understanding why."

Concludes:

> "So, in this sense, I think there were many flaws in the follow-up, [...] which could have led to some less positive events, and some even potentially serious, quite serious. Fortunately, nothing ever happened, but, but then, hmm."

Milene is the only person interviewed who shows this potential danger in view of the way the day responsible was supposed to deal with very complicated situations. Overall, as we have seen, a well-functioning organisation remains in memory.

And back to the day team

The brochure *"Our school"* when talking about the school shape introduces the figure of those responsible. It let children describe their responsibilities, but it does not speak of a day responsible, or a day team. However, from the 1990-1991 school year onwards, the term "team" began to appear in the discourse. The idea of a team

[115] See above, *"Times of work"* .

performing a series of tasks appears in the organisation of the Portel indoor camp, where, each day, a group of children was responsible for the logistical support of the whole group, together with an adult. What was at stake was the preparation of meals that needed some organisation.

In the notes and decisions of the T6 class council in the 1991-1992 school year, we note on October 18: *"We all clean our table [at the end of the day]. The team doesn't have to do it"* concluding the team just helps. On the eight of November, in another council, it was decided to make *"groups of 2 and we give each group a number to make lunch teams"* introducing daily teams. In the same meeting, a conflict of interest was discussed, assuming that the day responsible only helps if requested to do so.

Carla Gouveia, speaking of the 1st cycle from 1995 onwards, continues to clearly associate the teams with the organisation of work in the camps where, once again, they take on coordination, management and tasks:

> "We had several teams, and therefore, it was, each day a team making the dinners, ... I think it was like that. Then we had team games during the day. We visited things when it was in Alcochete, when we went to Cartaxo, when we went to Avis, then we went to visit things during the day, whether we were on the beach or not, there were teams, we could play games, we played track games, and so on, and then we divided and each one made dinner and so, and I think it was like that."

This organisation of the teams in the camps is clear, both in the documents that report the indoor camp of Portel, and the one that reports the camp in Alvito, in 1993. In the latter, Julieta Lopes and Dora Agostinho organise, after a first reconnaissance, the work with the children. She remembers the added work on the first day of visits, after the day of arrival and the setting up of tents and logistical support, in which some parents participated. Julieta announces in a video:

> "*Marta, Guida, Margarida and Bruna are going with me and we're going to do anything to get a shower. Then there is a group [for the study of] the 25th of April, which is Tomás, Milene and Tiago F, who will already have work today, because there is a gentleman who comes to talk to us about the 25th of April here, at field level with the peasants. Then, from the day team, Luís and Inês are left with two tasks for them. Making paints is one thing, another thing will be pouring some earth on top of the "things" in the "little house"*[116]. ***Someone:*** *"Now?".* ***Julieta****: "Yes, now, later this afternoon, other people of the team will do the same. "*

Before the camp, at the previously mentioned preparatory parents' meeting, Tomás Duarte presents the functions of the daytime teams during the camp:

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[116] In this specific camp, a camp toilet was dug, what is the little house Julieta refers to.

> "*Team duties: check the tents and make sure there are no loose parts; wake up and send to bed; treating wounds/medicines; solve problems; guide the meetings; support at meals; post the wall newspaper and write news; take care of the space; check the collective material; check the status of the needs house; record events*."

The idea of a day team had definitely taken shape and it was the organisation of lunches and camps that facilitated the formal institution of the concept, from 1992 onwards. Thus, Melissa Lousada, a classmate of Carla Gouveia, says:

> "Then there were the day teams, or the teams of the week, which I don't remember very well, we worked on our tasks in that period of time."

It seems to be Julieta Lopes who promoted the assumed change from the concept of the day responsible — a task worker to the concept of a cooperative and responsible team. She talks about her return to school after two years of work in Guinea and notes:

> "At first, when I went there, I had those day responsible, therefore, for the daily task workers. That there were those tasks of tidying things up, sweeping, I don't know, loads of things there were, changing the calendar, a series of little things, which were tasks. And there were others who were responsible, so there was someone responsible during the day, who was responsible for everything that happened, helped... I don't know, a series of things. It was... it often depended on..., on the capacity of the person in charge, how the day went or not: solving problems, between two or three kids, ... that's it, really solving problems. And there was someone responsible for the material. And there were more responsible, but I'm remembering these two things. I remember an assembly, because there was an evaluation by those responsible, and in one of the evaluations, a girl was criticised because the material had gone wrong, I don't know what had happened, that had gone wrong. And she, almost crying, said: '*Well, I can't be good at everything, if I'm responsible during the day, and I'm responsible for the material, things couldn't go well*'. More or less in these terms."

From there, Julieta Lopes began to think about the effective role of those in charge and task workers. It is noticed that when a person in charge of the day cannot well organise himself, it ends up being the adult who intervenes more often, "and therefore, I had to act more than I wanted to". Julieta also realises that the responsibility of having to organise the day and deal with all the unforeseen events during it is asking a lot of a child, when it is learning, along with the other children, how to organise itself, in participatory democracy, with the council as a regulatory instrument:

> "On the other hand, it was a very big responsibility on top of a kid, and I wasn't enjoying it very much. Then I remembered the teams. As the teams

> maintained the idea of rotation, everyone had the possibility of being part of a team and assuming, more often, the role of responsible person, but not alone. It was up to that team, autonomously, to decide what each one was going to do, or what they were going to do together. It was a way for the management of the class to be more easily assumed by the children."

Day teams continue to function during the camps. Reinforced by having more to manage in the open space, the teams have four to five people, and, unlike in class time in the classroom, on camp each day an adult continues to be part of the team.
In 1994, Melissa Lousada, Carla Gouveia and Rita Silves' class organises itself, with the day teams, in the 1st year of schooling. We observe, in a document filmed early 1995, Julieta Lopes helping the "D-team" to define tasks and responsibilities among them and post this on the information board, so everyone knows that, on that day, Jorge will be the one to give the word, and also who sends out and checks attendance, who writes the daily news and who changes the calendar. At the end of the day, we see the team in front of the class giving a short assessment of their work. Then there is an interview done by Margarida Faria[117] and Rita, a 4th year student, who explains how the team works. It changes every day: *"First it's a team, then it's another, then it's another, we have three team groups."* At that time, each team had five kids. There are several responsibilities and tasks, says Rita: "Give the word, see if attendance is marked , see plans, guide the text work, review the Wall Journal". It is also stressed by another student that teamwork moreover facilitates conflict management, in the playground for example. Instead of one person having to try to resolve the issue, there are several, making it easier. Thus, we observe that some children on the team help others to put things away, turning chairs over tables, while another is collecting cards. After a final check, the team sends everybody out. The choice to be task-oriented or responsible is possible and not necessarily explicit. According to Julieta Lopes:

> "I think I made that distinction. I think they didn't, they didn't have that [perception]. Now, it is evident that it is different to be — within the team there was one who solved problems, so this was practically the person in charge, well — this person in charge [who] has much more responsibility than, for example, who will distribute paper sheets, and will distribute anything else, change the calendar, I don't know. All this was done by the team. And each element had more than one thing to do, they were few, there were a maximum of five in each team, with four or five teams. There were four or five children per team, so each one had to do more things."

However, it is possible to perceive the evolution of the ability to manage the class

[117] Margarida was former teacher at the Ajuda-school and at the time resident trainer at the institution.

and to organise themselves as a team when we observe another document, from 1998, where the same class of Melissa Lousada and Carla Gouveia, now in the 4th year of schooling, prepares for a day of work. Now without the presence of the teacher, 4 children distribute among themselves what each one of them will do within the work team.

The teams themselves did not remain fixed. Julieta Lopes says:

> "They chose and could change if they wanted. They made a proposal and changed teams. But they were the ones who were chosen at the beginning of the year [and decided] which team they wanted to stay on. On Monday it was one team, on Tuesday it was another, on Wednesday it was another, and then it rotated all the time. Because running all the time, not having a fixed team on one day, it gave the possibility for all teams to go through the entire management".

It becomes part of the team's routine to quickly read the Wall Journal at the beginning of the day, especially to check whether news has been written in the appropriate column. Here, the Wall Journal has two more columns than the proposals in the class diary of the cooperative class of institutional pedagogy: in addition to *"I did n't like"* or *"I criticise", "I like"* or *"I think it's good"* and *"I propose"* there is a column with *"news"* as in news bulletin boards, and another with *"congratulations"*. In the sequence that evokes this routine, it can also be observed that, whenever necessary — in this case because there are two students missing from the team — a teacher is ready to join the team. I checked that it was at the time Dora Agostinho and Julieta Lopes developed work together, with the T5 and T6 classes often being together, in the moments of organisation.

Pragmatic, Julieta Lopes notes that this regular reading of Wall Journal has another effect, related to the column *"I didn't like"*:

> "... then there was a time when the day team went to see the journal and what was in the dislike, [and went] to the subscribers to ask if it was worth discussing that, or if it was already resolved, and that ended for being so brief."

The time filter (when the meeting arrives, one hears " I don't remember anymore ") is conveniently reinforced here with a filter of issues that have been resolved in the meantime. There were even more consequences of the switch to day teams. In addition to the already mentioned more effective support in the playground, where *"... each team, in each room, had a person in charge of the playground. So there were two or three people in charge , depending on the number of rooms"* (Julieta Lopes), program management also becomes more participatory:

> "... they had a right to know what they had to learn. I posted the programs on the wall, and the team chose that day, if nothing like that was scheduled, they

chose what they wanted to work on that week, and then we did the evaluation."

At a certain point, Julieta says that

"The day teams, the day teams for me were real... I think that in terms of the movement nobody has ever done that again and I don't know why. Maybe because we weren't able to get the message across. [...] it's much better, it gives a much greater dynamic, it makes the team much more responsible than a boy who has to hit his head, you were a disaster, the day went terribly, right, it's a whole team that has to take responsibility ."

In 1998, I discovered the evolution of work with teams in the indoor camp, in which I participated, when I collaborated as a father in the class where one of my daughters was, reusing this organisation in the classes with which I worked later (Paulus, 2006).

The adult's responsibility

Constructing a pedagogical interactive cultural space-time[118] that is provided as a space of participatory, direct democracy, without representation, with children, contains some risks. Vasquez and Oury (1967, 1977) alert for self-management decisions that can hurt. They consider that there are situations in which resorting to the teacher's veto alerts the group. It cuts a decision that resembles a court verdict and makes it possible to resume a healthy discussion in search of consensus or a decision.

Different from the more libertarian and self-managed current of institutional pedagogy by Lobrot, Hess, Lapassade and Loureau, among others, Fernand Oury's proposals are typical for a primary school teacher, who, as Hess (1975) recalls, hates disorder in the classroom. The proposals include instruments for not losing control of the situation, without going into extreme situations. In *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, in a very peaceful environment compared to the barracks school (Pain and Oury, 1972), and which the interviewees typify as a family environment[119], aggressiveness is more easily controlled.

There are few situations of aggression reported. But Judite Pinheiro claims to remember a situation of humiliation, caused by the teacher herself. It was about:

"Some boys groped the girls, and the girls complained about it a lot. And in the second year, the teacher said that, so the punishment would be that the boys would have to undress in front of the girls in the classroom. And I perfectly remember friends of mine, friends at the time, going over to the

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118 See Volume I. Contributions for a welcoming school

119 We could open here a discussion about the peacefulness of family environments of course. As I had the possibility to testimony when working in the suburb schools of Lisbon, not all family environments are welcoming... (See for instance Paulus, 2006)

> table, and having to start undressing and I saw their despair, starting to cry, and then the teacher stopped everything, of course". Judite ends: "But that was remarkable because I remember that everyone was a little scared."

Milene Afonso also remembers that there were some problems with groping, but when Judite reminded her of the story:

> "I, honestly, probably erased it from my memory, it wasn't worth it... (...) I was a little bit like *'well, did this really happen, I don't remember'*."

Of the teacher in question, who we know spent only one year at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, Milene Afonso also says:

> "I remember that I thought she made differences, maybe, between some people, and she was quite unstable, so she was as quickly upset with us as she was with joy and parties. She was inconsistent, so it didn't make much sense, and it made us uncomfortable."

This episode, which took place within a school that asserts itself with a singular school shape in terms of its relationship with power, is something that can be considered atypical. There is no other assertion of aggression by adults and aggression among students is rare, even if sometimes violent, as we will see[120].

There is a note in class T3's logbook about a similar situation in which a discussion about groping leads to the proposal of *"a new rule: you don't kiss anyone who doesn't want to".* In this case, it was immediately agreed what to do with those who did not respect this rule. The annotation says:

> "*They want to proceed with a punishment: taking off your underpants for ½ hour. When the president orders a vote, and the majority votes in favour, I vote against, vetoing the decision and asked to explain: I think this punishment does not respect the first law: pulling someone's underpants down is a very low form of laughing at others. After that, the rule changes to something more familiar: one stays, only with the individual plan, [working] in another room* ".

Irene Pires talks about reaching the decision and says:

> "I have the feeling that in borderline cases, where we didn't reach a consensus, we could decide what the professor decided. I remember or have the feeling that the teacher, in these types of situations, was like the student, or eh, the weight of his voice, it was quite similar. That, I think, at least me, is the feeling I have, as a group, as a class, is that we respected our teachers a lot. So, whatever you didn't know, any praise or punishment or dislike for what you did, it was something that made me sad or happy, depending on whether

[120] See page 179 .

it was positive or negative."

Catherine Pochet (Pochet and Oury, 1974) reports in detail the evolution of the rules and of the instituting instrument which she refers to as "le Conseil" after reading *Vers une pédagogie institutionnelle* and getting to know Oury. It shows the pitfalls placed by children and adolescents from the "special classes" and how it is necessary to be constantly attentive. The regulation of the class with the participation of all proves to be, in moments of crisis, particularly difficult. The regulated council where the authority stands is very clearly the privileged instrument.
I tried to understand how instruments such as those that allow the exercise of power in the context of the classroom are remembered and described. Who uses them and how? What are the limits that these instruments have? In the next point I will try to understand how the instrument that allows the regulation of power relations, group organisation and work organisation is perceived.

A Council called assembly

The questions

We will now see how, at the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school, the organisation of work, the regulation of the school life of the group, inside and outside the classroom and the dissemination of information is done through cooperative management having the "*Conseil*" as an aggregator element. How is it lived? What contributions do they bring to the organisation of work in the classroom? What other instruments are referenced in relation to this one? What limits are pointed out to them?
In "*A complex and cooperative relation*" I will try to build up a look at the type of instrument used in the groups of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* to organise the work. In the second point "*The organisation of information*" I try to analyse the sharing of information necessary for decision-making. In the third point, *"A work organisation"* I try to understand if the information and the instrument allow an organisation by work and not for work.

A complex and cooperative relation

The keywords that I used to organise and process the information that focuses on the regulation of power through the council, in this singular school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda,* were the following: *the assembly; group decision; decision by consensus; cooperative decisions; wall newspaper; belt [colours] table* and *plan and planning.*
The instrument *par excellence* mentioned and made explicit by former students is the "*class assembly*".
Two-thirds of the former students interviewed, that is, fourteen people, mention it.

References to it appears twenty-five times during the interviews. It is present both in the personal estate and in the estate of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. Two of the interviewed teachers use the term "*council*" in their discourse, the third uses the term "*assembly*" clearly with the structuring and instituting character in mind as conferred to by the institutional pedagogy and by the socio-centred model discussed in the MEM. One of the former students, currently a 1st cycle teacher, also uses the term "*council*" even if in the class he attended as a child, "*assembly*" was the word used. As we saw[121], it was in the 1990s that this designation of council was consolidated with the concept inherent in it, of social organizer of learning work (Niza, 1991; 1998b).

Unlike the denomination in the context of institutional pedagogy of *"Conseil de cooperative"*[122], the main regulatory body is, at the beginning of the analysed decade, still called "*class assembly"* as it was among part of the MEM teachers at the time, in an adaptation from the term that Célestin Freinet used: *"Assemblée de la cooperative"*. The term assembly persists, even after being adopted within the MEM in 1991, *"Council of educational cooperation"*. However, the analysis of the information reveals a device with characteristics of an instituting body, close to the cooperation council described by Sérgio Niza (1991, p. 28) when he states: *"The ritual space and time of essential regulation of the system, or of the organisation of the group, is the Council (Concílio)*" In a text published in 2003, but written in 1995, Júlio Pires states, when comparing *"assembly "* and *"council "*:

> *"More recently there is a tendency to standardise the designation, choosing to call it just "council" or "cooperation council" . (2003, p. 68).*

As we saw earlier[123] Sérgio Niza refers to the attentive look in the 60s and 70s for institutional pedagogy in France. There is an evolution of the concept of *assembly* to *founding council* although, in general, the terms *class assembly* and *wall journal* continue to be widely used.

The interest shown by the teachers of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in better understanding the proposals of institutional pedagogy, after Clarisse Rosa and myself coming over from Flemish Belgium — where at the time the then *Freinetstichting Vlaanderen*[124] experimented with elements of institutional pedagogy — will contribute, together with questions from other teachers linked to the MEM for the ongoing debate.

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[121] Volume I Contributions for a welcoming school

[122] See Volume I.

[123] In Volume 1.

[124] Although set up by a group of teachers linked to institutional pedagogy, the name was equivalent to "Freinet Movement" due to its relationships with Dutch colleagues. See Dekeyser (1982).

Clarisse Rosa says:

> "Ah! Assemblies, yes, they were assemblies. I now used [*some sentences before in that interview*] the new nomenclature, which is used in the movement, but it was the assemblies, it was the Wall Journal and the assemblies."

The organisation will therefore undergo changes and it is understood that the organisation and evaluation of the work, together with reading the wall journal — or the class diary, as it is now called — constitute various moments throughout the week. In any case, the designation of assembly will be maintained until 1999. Dora Agostinho refers, in this regard:

> "Why did we change? Euh... It was us adults, who changed, it wasn't them, I think that for them, even the groups that picked up the two nomenclatures, for them it's precisely the same thing, and for me the functioning is also the same thing, although if perhaps it would be more correct in this case to call Council [...]."

The observation of the filmed documents and the testimonies of the former students correspond with the description that Filomena Serralha makes of the cooperation council:

> " *Briefly, we can say the Council crosses the entire life of the group/class. This is because it is the starting and ending point of the students' learning paths and the regulation of both this collective journey and the interactions that are established there*." (2009, p. 46).

This description is more explicit in relation to the learning pathways than the one formulated by the group of founding teachers of the ***"De Appeltuin"*** school, where we experimented with institutional pedagogy, in an initiative created by parents and teachers and which will be a correspondence school for the T3 class, as we will see later.

In fact, more focused on the formal issues of authority in the classroom, we wrote:

> "*The class council [is] the formal link in the group. The rules used by the class are created and changed in the council, where everyone participates on an equal footing. In fact, the council constitutes the authority of the class, the power is in the hands of the whole group*."[125] (Hermans *et al,* 1981, p. 56)

Regulator of the organisation, the aforementioned ***"class council"*** is also the place where the work to be developed is decided, as can be seen from the phrase of this

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[125] "De klasraad [is] de formele schakel in de groep. De regels die door de klas gehanteerd worden, worden gesteld en veranderd op de klasraad, waaraan iedereen op voet van gelijkheid deelneemt. De klasraad vormt eigenlijk de autoriteit van de klas, de macht is in handen van de gehele groep. " (translated by the author).

practice report (Paulus, 2006, p. 56), adapted from the original Dutch in 1981: *"In the Council, we propose new projects. Benoît proposes a project about autumn flowers".*
The work context at *Voz do Operário da Ajud*a, where, as Francisco Neto told, back in 1982, in kindergarten, and later in the 1st cycle, group work and learning were regulated, and where a group of teachers is more attentive to the influences of institutional pedagogy, facilitated the evolution to a *cooperation council*, even if with the name of *assembly*. What makes Dora Agostinho say, in relation to the change of terms:

> "...since I thought this wasn't going to change anything, I ended up changing the name in terms of how it works. Now, the kids who picked up the two nomenclatures, I think they thought a little like me, this didn't change anything, it just changed the name, that's it, basically the validity of one thing or another was the same."

The testimonies of students and teachers, as well as the analysed documents, describe a practice that is part of the logic of the cooperation council, which is why this term will be used to designate it. However, I kept the word *assembly* or *class assembly* in the testimonies, as it is the term engraved in the memory of those who describe the experience of the practice as a student or teacher of Voz do Operário da Ajuda.

The grand meeting

In a cooperation council children and adults at Voz do Operário da Ajuda discuss all matters that lead to collective decisions regarding management. Judite Pinheiro says:

> "OK. Well, what I'm remembering now is the... assemblies... we always had a class assembly, I don't remember the name right now, what it was called"

There are those who say they don't remember very well how the cooperation council was organised, but they know that it was there "we discussed if there were any issues" (Milene Afonso).
Sheila Castro also has vague ideas:

> "I think there was eventually some organisation. Probably at the beginning or end of the week. Possibly... When maybe we were organising the week, or maybe at the end, with the idea of how this week went, I think we would eventually have a kind of brainstorm of how things went, what went well, what didn't, to opine. I think we had something like that."

Others remember "the class councils, that we had space to intervene, to propose, both in terms of knowledge , proposals for resolving conflicts". This is the case of Francisco Neto, now primary school teacher, linked to the MEM. Also for Tomás Duarte, this work regulatory body is much more present. At the beginning of the interview he

says:

> "That's how it was, the assembly is unavoidable. I wanted not like to start with the assembly, but I think the most important thing was that we could all sit down and discuss our problems among ourselves, what we didn't like, what we liked, and those were very serious discussions for us at the time, and I think it was essential, and it is remarkable in my way of being, which is to always discuss everything, and we discussed the most varied things."

The council meeting is held regularly. There is less pattern in the form. The photographs of the T2 class show adults and children, sitting in a circle, with no tables in front of them. In the first image we also see the presidency, of which, on that day, Jorge Carvalho is part, with a table in front of him, where the "wall journal" can be guessed. The 1988 video, titled *Pedagogical Monograph*, presents extracts from what is probably the same council meeting as seen in the photographs and goes around the circle of close to 30 children and two adults[126].

Another document, filmed in 1994, shows a meeting, whose disposition corresponds to one of the ways that Carla Garcia remembers:

> "I remember that the meeting was in the corner of the room, [the corner] for the exhibition, around a table, that assembly."

In fact, the meeting takes place in the reading space: the presidency is on the cushions, the children and teachers of classes T5 and T6 are sitting on the floor, on some chairs and on a bench next to the reading space. Although formal in its execution, there is a great ease among the people. Some boys, including Tomás Duarte who presided over the session, took off their t-shirts; there are children sitting on the lap of others.

Other documents show council meetings that take place around the table, and even in the playground, under the fig tree. This is the case of the preparation meeting for the indoor camp in Portel of the T3 and T4 groups. In the first part, the students responsible for different aspects of the organisation of the indoor camp report to the others on the development of their work. We learn how to buy bus and train tickets for the voyage, as well as their total cost. We heard the organisation of overnight stays and the preparation of menus, as well as the organisation of work groups. This council meeting is congruent with another, already reported, at the Alvito camp, where team leaders are given a round to let everyone know what there is to do.

The organisational meeting between two corresponding classes also takes place under the fig tree. We observed children and adults, who we identified as teachers and parents, sitting in a circle. We remember that the corresponding school, which

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[126] One of the adults is the teacher, Clarisse Rosa. I identified Sofia Faria, author of the end-of-course monograph that takes the class as an object of study (Faria, 1989), as the second adult person.

presented itself as "Freinetschool" assumed at the time institutional pedagogy as a reference model and used, since 1981, the concept "klasraad" (class council) [127].
There is some evidence that council meetings were held in camps or indoor camps, some after dinner, when everyone was already in pyjamas and with their pet soft toys in hand.
The council, which Sérgio Niza (1998b, p. 87) describes, unfolds at various times of the week. It allows regulation, planning, information and collective evaluation and work organisation. In the pages that follow, I observe the pedagogical practice of Voz do Operário da Ajuda in each of these aspects.

Context regulation in cooperation

As understood from the previous point, the council is, in this school and at that time, normally associated with a weekly meeting, related to the reading of the wall newspaper. Carla Brito[128] states in this regard:

> "I also remember that Friday afternoon was dedicated to the assembly, and that assembly, [...] was dedicated to the discussion of reading our wall newspaper, which was divided into three topics: I think it's good, I think it's bad and I propose. And we wrote, we wrote throughout the week."

Dora Agostinho remembers that, at the time, not everything went through the meeting and that the council involved other moments of the week:

> "At the time, some things started with the diary, others were simply put in council, really. And if it weren't for the Friday Council, it was put in collective moments, even a job, any content, there was someone who said, look, I'm going to do I don't know what, so it didn't always go through the diary."

The cooperation council meetings are work regulation meetings, but they also help to find solutions when there are situations of conflict or tension between members of the group. Overall, as Tomás Duarte says:

> "It always ended up being matters of relations between ourselves, that is, when someone got upset and someone had done something they didn't like, they would put it on the wall newspaper, that they didn't like it, and it was discussed."

Matters are taken to the Council meeting and discussed. In the T3 class, of which I was a teacher at the time, the rituals arising from institutional pedagogy (Vasquez and Oury, 1977, p. 465) are glimpsed in the words of Carla Brito:

> "Whoever wanted to speak, had to raise their hand, and the head (making

[127] See note 125.

[128] Student of the T3 class between 1987 and 1991.

quotes with her hands) of the assembly would assign the floor, in order, the match to each person: the complainant, the person who allegedly hit or who complained, each one gave their version and any witnesses... afterwards, it was seen, I think a count was made, to see who was right... I think everybody participated, they knew the votes and if whoever complained won, he proposed a punishment .".

As we will see later, decisions were sought by consensus. However, there are reports in which the application of a sanction by majority is accepted, allegedly for not having respected a previously agreed rule. We found, tied in notebooks, situations that refer to lunch, to the undue waste of material, to aggressions between colleagues. In some cases there is even a ban such as *"Z and T do not carry out experiments for 15 days"* while in other cases we find demands such as *"P apologises to the person in charge of lunches"* satisfied during the course of the council meeting.

In another board meeting filmed in 1994, we see how the teacher intervenes to protect a child from a rash judgment:

*Carla Garcia, responsible for the library, says of a colleague: "*I don't know what Mariana[129] was doing, they came to tell me that this book, which was very new, was like this*". She shows a torn book. She continues that the colleague should "do something" or "learn anything". She insists that she thinks it's very bad. Mariana, a child with trisomy 21, starts to cry softly when she hears the severe criticism from the responsible. Meanwhile, when a witness receives the word, she says that Mariana went to call another child for lunch who was with the book in her hand and that it was, when she took the book, that it was torn.*

The president proposes that she can fix the book. When several stare at the student in question, the president asks if she wants to speak. She doesn't speak and when Dora (teacher) asks if she wants to explain what happened, she shakes her head and continues to cry. A little impotent, the president asks if anyone has anything else to say, and is relieved when Julieta (the teacher) asks to speak and says : "Well, if Mariana had torn the book on purpose, it would have been really serious, but it wasn't on purpose. Susana already explained that (boy's name), who is stubborn as everyone knows, should have been going to lunch and he wasn't, Mariana went to get him, pulled the book and the book tore. So it doesn't seem like a very serious thing to me. We can ask Mariana to be a little careful with these things. And I think that Carla, instead of having put it in the newspaper right away, should have found out what had actually happened and told Mariana: '*Look, be careful, because books tear easily. I don't think it was a thing for the wall paper*'."

[129] Fictitious name .

Here it is possible to clearly observe that it is a matter of work regulation, collective learning of the management of the class and not a kind of popular court, which would be very dangerous for the well-being of the children. As Vasquez and Oury (1977, p. 485) refer: *"Fortunately, there is a teacher in the room".*

It is sometimes difficult to reduce the subject to easily interpretable proportions. Milene Afonso tells in a long episode:

> "Fortunately, or unfortunately, I think it's unfortunately, but eh... I only had a complaint against me once, I didn't like it, it was something I never forgot, unless I'm mistaken, in third grade, I had a terrible bad loss, absolutely terrible, fortunately (laughs), today I am quite different, and therefore literally exploded."

In a ball game, during recess, Milene went to her friend, and

> "because we had lost such an important game and since she was the goalkeeper, a sudden burst of fury literally went through my head, which I still deeply regret today, and it is something that happened more than ten years ago, it was something that I couldn't forget. It was so negative for me."

Despite the apology, right after, the colleague wrote what happened in the *"I don't like"* column, which turned out to be important:

> "When someone did something, I have the notion that maybe, many times, I was quite tough. If someone did something that I thought was very wrong, I was probably the person who was most critical of it, and for me it was absolutely painful, not only my act, the act itself, but also the consequences, not only for [my friend], but the consequences for me being criticised. There was no possible argument, right, I had nothing to defend myself with, I didn't have any kind of possible argument, and therefore, I think it was an important episode on a personal level, of growth, somehow [...]. Euh... luckily I never had (laughs) a tantrum again."

When Julieta Lopes talks about the organisation of day teams and the responsibility given to them, she also refers to the management of matters that will go to the board meeting and those that will not. Playground is always complicated to manage and:

> "The people in charge of the playground tried to solve the problems of the playground. If there were very serious problems, the adults who were there had to intervene, of course". She goes on to say that matters "going towards the assembly when the responsible for it thought they should not and resolved at the moment, would not pass. If it was in the journal, it would go through the assembly, if not ... because there were many things that were later put there as "not to be read" which means that it had been resolved during the week."

Group decisions : majorities or consensus, in cooperation

Deciding is difficult. The establishment of responsibilities that allows making decisions typical for an organisation delegated power, is as difficult. It requires the explanation of the role, what a person in charge can decide and what not, so talking about it together is necessary.

At *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* group decisions prevail. These are decisions that need negotiation, joint understanding, cooperation. They allow for planning, based on the information that the collective assessment returns to the group, which thus manages to organise the work.

According to Fernand Oury, the group commits itself, for the practice of common decision and everything that concerns it, to appropriate a *Locus* (the organised group and the council), a *Law* (the instituted rules), te knowledge about the *Limits* within which it is possible to act (class work and interpersonal relationships in the class) and, for that, to have a common *Language*. Oury jokes saying there is a "4L" involved[130]. More serieus, Jacques Pain (2009, p. 102) resumes:

> "This 4L is fundamental. Language is linked by Locus, Limits and Laws. Locus, limits and laws are linked through language. It is in this central institution, which is language, in this game of institutions that authorise and allow the human species, that society begins. And school begins with society. It's hard to see how one could do it differently."[131]

We observe joint planning in several documents from the archive of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*:

- In the T3 and T4 groups, who articulate the work for a joint camp, and with a grid of the week on the board, students and teachers discuss the organisation of the week. Suggestions are analysed and prioritised. The organisation of the some of the class activities have precise deadlines, so they are priority. It is decided who will be absent from the room (take care of the van for logistical support, talk about the food that needs to be taken with the cook, etc.) so that each one can calculate the time they are involved in tasks for the collective and how much time has for individual work. This will allow filling in the individual work plan[132].
- In class T2, at the end of the weekly meeting on Friday, the secretary of the meeting recalls what was decided: *"Reading of the minutes. D. is responsible for the MM's plan. We add to the rules that one may not spoil other people's material. The group that conducts studies cleans up the material that is messed up. IP is responsible for the playground. M. stays out of the group for a week. MM. Can go back to the computer. H. is responsible for*

[130] *4L* was the designation used in France for the very popular Renault 4 L

[131] Translated from French

[132] See below, *"A work organisation"*.

lunches and P. is the helper." Decisions have specific meaning for group members and have all been discussed before. Explaining that you don't spoil other people's material, or that you tidy up material that got messed up, allows you to draw attention later, when problems arise again. It is no longer worth noting that one didn't know or that one didn't mean to. According to Oury (1977), being temporarily without a belt, being suspended, that is, having the action limited, and being accompanied by the teacher or a tutor who makes you observe how the group works and how the space becomes a place of freedom of movement, when resorting to rules instituted together, is a useful measure for everyone, when it is difficult to orientate oneself in a space where authority is hold by the collective. Recording what was decided is a constant: of the T3 class, I found in my personal archive, the logbooks of the academic years 1989-1990 and 1990-1991. There are 127 and 198 sheets, respectively, recording all the "tell and show" moments and all the decisions of the weekly councils.

- On June 6, 1991, the decisions, after reading the wal journal, include: *N. pays the pencil to T.* The minor damages were resolved; *P, MM, and S do a paper on puberty,* an effective answer to the question '*What does 'puberty' mean'. S. raisin blue x; D. passes blue division.* It is confirmed in public what each one is capable of doing. Changes in behaviour belts were the subject of a group assessment. *P. apologises (proposal accepted to the detriment of another (P. stays out of the group for a week).* The teacher intervened. When one stays out of the group to better observe how the group works, it is to understand the rules of conduct within the same group. After that, you learn to use them. And learning to apologise is the next step, and then learning how to behave with others so you don't have to apologise, will be valued with the attribution of a belt that certifies the skills that one has developed.
- Melissa Lousada mentions: "so on Friday afternoon we had a group meeting in which everyone participated and where the students were, as far as I remember, maybe that wasn't how it worked, but I remember I told myself that it was more the students who led, they were the ones who gave the word, who read the news , the teachers were present and participated but they gave the leading role to the students and the assembly I have this idea, and that's it, and more... "

The cooperative decision-making process invites conversations and reformulations. Sheila Castro remembers:

> "That's how it is, [...] we always had the right to an opinion. That is, any suggestion we made was always welcome, as long as it made sense, obviously. Because of course we had completely impossible ideas, like any kid. I remember it was a super..., super free place, unlike other places, so...".

Irene Pires considers that this long process of group reformulation helps to define

oneself according to the criteria of justice:

> "I know that many things were managed, our individual attitudes were always euh, reformulated, or rethought as a group. And in that sense, I remember that I have some memories of things that we started to think about, because I think this defined our personal categories of justice a little bit."

The feeling of an assessment that was not arbitrary also remains in memory. The teacher does not apply the rule that is imposed on him, or makes the prescribed rules apply to the students. The rule, because it is made by everyone, is appropriated by everyone and so, continues Irene Pires:

> "I think, without a doubt, that it was completely different from a public school, in the sense that in the public school it was the teacher who would decide, who would decide the punishment, and the student would submit. Here, this punishment is decided by the group, which has to reach a consensus."

The interviewed former students do not manifest memory about collective decisions related to the organisation of work contexts. There is a scenario, a context that allows the development of activities and a freedom of movement that is told but that appears in the memories as inherent to the unique school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, as other scenarios are inherent to the school shape that is observed in other schools.

Dora Agostinho tells how she started working at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, right after initial teacher education, during which she learned about the existence of the socio-constructivist model and the work of the MEM. She says that when she arrived at school, with "the model she knew in theory", she found an organisation that "wasn't that different from what I was also thinking of doing with them ". With the concern to articulate well with the children in the class with which she began to work, replacing the teacher who had started working with that group, she says that "we marked in the newspaper to see together which were the workplaces that were going to appear in the classroom, as I do there with all the groups ", something he continued to do for many years. This also applies to the adjustment instruments you use in the room. According to this:

> "... I think that with that group, [the recording grids of] the cards made more sense to me, than to them, because they said, but I know which were the cards I made, so there was no need to register."

Collective decisions regarding the organisation of the room, to allow work, are recorded in minutes. Thus, we read, among others, the decisions of the cooperation council meeting of 21 September 1990 of T2:

> *"We have to buy: current detector, paint sheets, paints, 6V light bulbs, electrical wires, glued paper, glutinous glue and bring (?) corks, plastic bottles; Styrofoam*

> *constructions are done outside the room; "We look at animal prices and bring the information to the class."*

Other decisions, of which there are testimonies, have more to do with the content of the work than with its organisation. The choice of projects is something that involves collective decision, to a greater or lesser extent. Francisco Neto remembers that:

> "We also had an intervention in this aspect, that is, if there was a theme that we really wanted to explore, we had space for it. I remember that, now, there were also others that were brought by the teacher. This [study about] wolves, by chance I don't remember where it came from."

Regarding the camps and how the themes and places for camps are defined, the testimonies are from the interviewed teachers. Dora Agostinho mentions:

> "I no longer remember what it was like. What they were going to study, in each camp, I remember they were the ones who chose, there were some topics they wanted to see treated in relation to what they had seen and what I saw."

Julieta Lopes explains that the themes emerged from conversations and that she picked up on ideas:

> "No, something came up... for example, the tree. It was nature. So we were going to study. From then on, I don't know, only if I have the work here I would see it, but I know that from then on, there was, for example, I don't know, it's the water, maybe ... I don't know ... ***Me***: But those are things that were later chosen by them, or also? ***Julieta***: By us, it was chosen by all of us. [...]"

Having the official curriculum, as Clarisse Rosa points out, an attempt was made to reconcile desires with obligations, which led to another type of negotiation:

> "I, at that time, because I was in the third and fourth year, what I did wasn't just based on some proposals coming from the kids. I have no idea if these proposals came more from these kids or from others, I don't know. But what they did at the time, it was already a little bit not only based on their proposals but also [based on] the management of the program."

That is, as Dora Agostinho explains:

> "I've always tried, with all the groups, and I'm still trying, to reach a consensus. Because it's more, it's more interesting, for everyone, to be able to all be doing something that everyone likes. Although, there are times when this is not always possible. And that you can't even reach that consensus."

The work themes for the big projects were subject to negotiation. Projects that do not involve the class are also decided together. In my personal archive I found an allusion to the "*fridge*" the place where themes that could be interesting to work on

are kept. In the responsible card we read:

Fridge

* Keeps suggestions for studies in the refrigerator (watch out for information in the morning meeting).
* In the assemblies in which we choose projects for the study of the environment, he reads the proposals and counts the votes attributed to each one of them.

In the minutes book of this class there are notes on 4 December 1990 that allude to the organisation of the project groups. The themes are: *"castles; the Fox; kings of Portugal; tropical diseases; history of Portugal – the beginning; dwarves , gnomes, elves, etc; history of the boats; bees and honey"*. Apparently, that day, the decisions of who was going to do what were not finished. An arrow above the name "*Paulo*" indicates that after all he was going to work on castles instead of the Kings of Portugal, leaving the name "*Zélia*" alone for this matter. The names "*Diogo G.*", "*Diogo C.*" "*Raúl*" and "*Pedro*" appear next to the theme "*tropical diseases*" while "*the dwarfs, gnomes and the like*" bring together many candidates: the names of "*João, Selma, Sara, Raquel, Irene and Álvaro*" seem to be organised into two groups of three. Finally, the names of "*Marco*" and "*Carla*" are joined next to the theme "*the history of boats*", while the name "*Tomás*" appears followed by a question mark. Some names of children in the class are not mentioned, probably because the children had not yet spoken.
Sheila Castro remembers the weekly discussion that involves the organisation of work and which later determines the personal organisation of each one:

> "When we chose our schedule, we obviously had to have a minimum of Portuguese language work, a minimum of math, reading, etc. worksheets. But only until that [amount], after that, the remaining hours, it was up to us."

There are tough decisions to make when it comes to schoolwork. A filmed discussion, in class T6, illustrates this:

> *Julieta Lopes raises the problem of training the arithmetics at home, and how it is known that this training has to be done. She warns that it is necessary because everyone has to gain speed to do some arithmetic calculations, since, in a test situation, there is limited time to do things. Those who fail to do so are disadvantaged. Then she continues*: "There are kids who do math (at home), there are those who don't. When we go to correct, everyone takes advantage of the work that some have done. And my position is this: either there are arithmetics for everyone and it is mandatory, unless there is some impediment for you, but everyone has to do the arithmetics, or it is optional, those who want to do it, those who do not want to do not. It's in your full

> right, nobody has to work at home, you have to work here. Or no more arithmetics at home. Now, whatever is decided here, it will be so." *One of the children proposes that those who do work at home participate in the subsequent collective correction, those who don't do not participate either. Another intervener considers that it is important to have arithmetics. A third child thinks that those who do, do, those who don't, don't. Those who don't, don't correct. Those who don't do it at home, but do it in the class room, those could see the correction. The first intervener even adds that there are "cheaters" who say they did, and didn't. Another child proposes the blackboard to be erased after making the corrections, and those who forgot to work at home, do it alone. Julieta explains*: "Who made it at home and forgot to bring it, do it here later, alone, is this what you propose?" After this clarification, she resumes: "I think there are two situations. One is that it is mandatory for everyone. Anyone who doesn't do it at home or forgot it at home, will have to do it here, probably during playtime, so as not to occupy the rest of the time. Home time is not school time. The other proposal is, as it is work outside of your working hours, it is for whoever wants it. Those who don't want to don't do it, it's their right, but they also don't use the work for correction. There are two proposals." *The first proposal is voted by a majority.*

At another council meeting, we see Jorge Carvalho, president, announce: "It's 10 to three." He reads the first item written on the wall journal in front of him. He lets the discussion evolve (in which only the children participate) and focus the conversation again when it gets into unnecessary details: "I think that now we just have to discuss who will replace M, Inês or Rita". Then, the teacher intervenes, reinforcing and saying that it is already known what to decide and now it is just needed to know what the group thinks is best. The matter is settled with the vote and the council continues with the evaluation of the weekly plan and the preparation of the plan for the next week.
Making proposals explicit is a technique observed in other moments of board meetings, such as to understand why not to apply a sanction for infraction to a rule that was just created, due to the event under discussion.

The power of jointly crafted rules

The emerging keywords "*Conflicts" "punishment" "rules" and "elaboration of rules"* define the information collected to understand how the elaboration of rules that confer power in the classes of Voz do Operário da Ajuda works.
In several photographs we see a poster with *"laws of the room"* or *"group rules"* or even *"rules of life"* often accompanied by a set of indications. In class T2, for example, it is posted, next to the laws of the classroom already mentioned:

I can	I can't
In the classroom	
* go get material * speak softly * Going out (water , bathroom) * Stay during playtime to finish the plan	* To play * To talk * Speak loudly
In corridors	
* pick up coats * Walk slowly and silently	* Play * Run * Make noise * dirty the walls
On the playground	
* defend the little ones * put the garbage in the bins * listen to those responsible	* solve problems by beating * destroy other people's play * eat on the patio at lunchtime * play with pistols from home

In the T3 class, the laws of the room are few (*VOA89110204*):

our laws
1. We don't laugh at others. 2. We don't kiss anyone who doesn't want to. 3. The day responsible flags a disturber three times. After this the disturber can be send to another classroom.

They are accompanied by an illegible record of decisions, and next to this panel we see the sign with instructions, under the title *"Don't you have anything to do? "*, mentioned at the beginning of this chapter[133].

From the T5 class there is on a photographical support a view of the information board with a sheet of cardboard with a handwritten text. There is space left under *"we decided"* and *"rules of life"* allowing for additions. It is difficult to understand what is jointly elaborated and what is predefined. The text goes as follows:

[133] See page 136

we decided	exit rules
Anyone who is disturbing our work too much loses the right to work. They then do nothing.	* Do not pass the person in front or stay behind the person in the back . * Avoid running. * Do n't push each other. * Only cross the streets when the person in charge tells you to .

rules of life	Functions /tasks of the day teams
* I put my finger in the air to speak. * Pay attention to who is speaking. * Speak low. * Do n't bother. * Be careful with the materials. * Wash hands when necessary. * Leave the rooms clean and tidy. * Respect the day team.	* Take care of parakeets. * Take care of the plants. * Give the word. * See who is not present . * Distribute and collect the plans. * Guide the reading of the texts. * Make the wall newspaper. * Write news . * Help who needs. * Guide meetings . * Send out. * Ensure compliance with the rules.

However, Tomás Duarte, who was a student in that class, remembers the discussions to arrive at the rules:

> "But we also discussed more serious things, the very functioning of the room. *Me*: Like for example? ***Tomás***: Cases of the rules of the room, of our own relationship between ourselves, what we could and could not do, and it gave rise to serious discussions."

The discussion about the rules was not always easy, and Irene Pires assumes that there were predefined contexts:

> "And I could be shocked by this one, this one, with the use they made of the rules, the distortion of the rules, but I think it was enriching to understand that you have to define your limit, that you want the rules to follow them, but that there are people who don't follow and how do you manage that? Hmm, therefore the Voz had classes, hmm, sometimes very different... the teachers, the feeling I have more about the teachers, is that they defined a series of rules."

Former students are not very explicit in their memories about the use of rules. It is noted, in the filmed documents, that there are rules of interaction during the collective moments, which goes through the management of giving the floor in the hand of a child, as is very clear in the moments of council meeting. Rules seem to be internalised in some situations. In the presentation of the camp in Alvito, those responsible say that this year there will be no written rules to take with them, because "everybody already knows the rules". In other situations this not seems to be the case: during a council meeting with the T5 and T6 classes, there is a discussion about the behaviour of some elements, while the classes played a game with balls, to replace a gym class, on a day when the gym teacher missed. It is explained that in this case it is not the rules of the playground, but the classroom rules that prevail. Irene Pires makes the following interpretation of the rules, as she recalls them:

> "They were operating rules, from the classroom, but I think that in these operating rules, there are a number of things that we defined. For example ... euh ... I think the teacher could define that there was ... "now there is an activity that you can do what you want"; or "from now on, I don't know how long there will be an activity that you define", so it's a rule that the teacher is defining, but we are the ones who are going to define what we are going to do..."

Julieta Lopes, on the other hand, considers that the rules were the result of a joint observation of the work context:

> "The model made the kids self-responsible. And the things, the rules existed because they were necessary and not because they were imposed, they were discussed, as is evident, isn't it, all the criticisms, proposals and I don't know what were necessary were made, and I think this comes into play kids head. It's not my merit, it's not their merit, it was the way power was distributed (laughs)."

We saw in the filmed excerpts of the councils complex situations in which the teacher has to intervene, to reformulate or to explain a proposal, and then, if possible, reach consensus. But consensus is not reached in all situations, as Dora Agostinho explains:

> "I remember, for example, one of the rules that was worked on at the time, for the playground, was the fact that one cannot play football every day, this because of the little ones. And there was no consensus. And it is [where] consensus is rarely reached. Exactly because those who like to play football want to play football every day, isn't it. And those who don't usually play football don't think it's any fun having the playground always busy with a football game, when they need to play their games too."

When someone does not comply with or when they do not respect the rules defined together, in most cases a discussion arises to explain what happened. As a result, recommendations are made or the rule is readjusted, as we saw with the occurrence

in the library of classes T5 and T6[134]. But there are also punishments, which normally involve collectively deciding to restrict the range of activities authorised for one or another child. It often has to do with critical incidences or with the imposition of a moment of reflection. The logbooks refer to decisions such as *"P. did not respect the laws of the room. For one week you are only entitled to the individual plan"*. In many cases, the decision means that someone becomes responsible or tutor of the person who received a direct order to do or not do a certain activity or task.

There is a statement by Irene Pires that seems to point to situations of parallel decisions, of imitation, that pass by the decisions in council meeting, where the teacher is always present. Among children,

> "... we even did symbolic things, like actually making a prison... we turned over, put a table and turned another table upside down, so that the legs were up, and when the person misbehaved, of, had behaved bad, and there were these assemblies, which were usually weekly or monthly, the person had to go to prison. And that was it".

This contrasts with the discussion conducted in Council, with the presence of the teacher. Francisco Neto recalls a potentially dangerous situation in which a classmate brought a firearm to school to show his friends. He was forced, along with those who encouraged him, to do a project on the danger of firearms to later present to the class. And concludes:

> "... therefore, they were not punished, and everyone expected it, which, which would be normal, is it not, I don't know, the father hitting the son. In another school, we had the notion that in other schools there was not the same kind of teacher-pupil relationship that existed there with us, more, more in another class, being punished until the end of the year and being slapped, by the teacher, the parents, by everyone, and none of that happened there".

If there were conflicts, and how they were addressed, memories about them are very vague. As Milene Afonso says:

> "I don't remember some things, for example conflict resolution, I don't really remember, I even tried, I knew I was coming, that I was going to do this interview, I don't remember, I tried to make an effort, from memory, and I don't remember, and even... I decided not to look at the notebooks, at least so as not to bias the interview."

In general, there are very few memories of conflicts with teachers.

- "With you, I don't remember anything. I do not remember anything. I basically have good memories." (Diogo García).

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[134] Page 163.

- "Maybe (laughs) ... let me see ... it was something that wasn't engraved in my memory, but let me see if I can remember ... hmm (long pause) ... I guess, so I won't be able to remember. (pause) I remember that you sometimes got mad at us, but I don't remember what happened next (laughs) (pause) I'm afraid to say something that I know I'm not sure about, I think I'd rather no..." (Vitor Abreu).
- "I don't remember punishments or anything, so I think it was resolved there, very quickly, very calmly. So it must have been very quick and very smooth." (Sheila Castro).

When referring to conflicts between students, testimonies are divided. Tomás Duarte remembers punishments in the playground, in certain situations:

> "... hmm, punishments, too, at playground, we did a lot of things, including... the fig tree that fell, we were all on top of it when it fell and sometimes at playground we were punished, several times, but in the classroom, hmm, I have no memory of having time-out"

This corresponds to what Carla Gouveia says:

> "And for example, the [educational assistant] no, She punished though, and said (in an ugly voice): "and now, you won't go... " and so, and I think it was, I don't know, I think that she was very different from the person [educator] she was with, I think... Not Dora, Dora always tried to keep things calm, a lot: "Let's talk, so, what happened? Ta ta ta..."

This does not mean that there were not more complicated situations to manage, as Dora Agostinho tells us:

> "I remember perfectly two of them as they jumped into the neighbour's yard, who didn't think it was funny. I think the most striking things about the playground were the fig tree and jumping from there to the neighbour's backyard. He had the lettuce planted there and he was very upset, there were some who had picked the loquats, but I think that was the most striking thing."

And there are memories of conflicts with colleagues, which were not always discussed in the assembly.

- "I remember when I got there, at school, [having] a problem with two of my classmates, those who were two Roma, [names]. The idea I have in my memory, it was the first day at school, and I remember I don't know why, the image I have is that suddenly, they are grabbing me and pulling my hair. I remember that it was a bit of a shock, right at the beginning, on the first day of classes, that this happened right away." (Diogo García).
- "So, the case that I remember most was that of some boys who groped the

girls, and the girls complained a lot about it. However, thus, of these assembly matters, I remember nothing else." (Judith Pinheiro).

- "I remember there was a boy too, from T.'s class, (...) it was M. who was a little, I don't know if he had a cognitive delay, but he sometimes disturbed the environment a little." (Milene Afonso).

Ricardo Azevedo says he even felt some difficulties with a colleague who was very violent with him. It was a student from the same class, with serious relationship difficulties and who, on many occasions, harassed others:

- " With my friends, everything was normal. But with him, with [name], I was always very afraid of him. And now I don't."
- "I was scared of him, and nobody did anything. But then what is it? This is bullying. I've been through several bullying situations. And that in my situation."
- "And then in the camps he was behind us, with the trunk of a tree."

But there are also those who claim not to remember major conflicts:

- "Maybe there was, but no, I have no record. Maybe because it was well resolved. I remember ... no, but no, no conflicts" (Irene Querido).
- "And then I have memories of, of friends, I don't remember like that, of conflicts if you want, I think in general, ..." (Jorge Carvalho).

Julieta Lopes considers that the conflicts in the playground were well monitored by the teams of the day and that this could be the reason for the former students to be vague about the subject:

> "As each team had a person in charge, each class had a person responsible for solving problems, he was the one who tried to solve problems in the room. Those responsible for the playground tried to solve the problems of the playground. If there were very serious problems, the adults who were there had to intervene, of course."

The wall journal with diary features

The document that orients the council meeting and which is today currently referred to as the *class diary* appears under the name *wall journal*. In the T3 class room of the 1989-1990 school year, it is publicly exposed, with three columns *"I think it's good", " I think it's bad" and "I propose"* . In a photograph of the T6 class from the school year 1992-1993 a wall journal with four columns can be observed but which titles cannot be read. Beside this sheet there is another one with the title *"Minutes".* The T5 class has a paper sheet with the headings *"I liked", "I want", "News", "I propose" and "I think it's bad".* Irene Pires talks about a paper sheet with four entries:

> "we had a wall journal, with several categories: like, dislike, want, congratulations, where we could communicate with the rest of the class

something we thought about a certain subject"

In the logbooks of two school years of the T3 class, it is easy to find the decisions taken in council. Decisions in minutes that regulate the life of the room are highlighted. It is these decisions that are fixed next to the laws of the room, also posted on the wall. The Wall Journal seems to be always available, for anyone in the class who wants to jot down a topic to discuss. Even during a group activity, we can see how a child gets up and goes to write something on the sheet, while the class continues to work. The column where he is writing has the heading *"I didn't like"* and is between the headings *"I like"* and *"I propose"*.

In addition to Irene Pires, the interviewees who have been students of Voz do Operário da Ajuda for a longer time say about this:

- "So we had a class diary with the columns "I liked", "I didn't like" and "I propose", I'm not sure if I remember well. But I remember that it was an instrument that we used, daily... hourly... (laughs)." (Francisco Neto).
- "And I think it was presented, every Friday afternoon, like an A1 sheet, a large sheet with columns, where we talked about our work. I think we all discussed it." (Jorge Carvalho).

All who were a fourth-year student between 1990 and 1993 tell:

- "For example, I remember ... someone who hit me, for example, [I wrote] "I'm sorry that I don't know who hit me" eh... that's an example. Afterwards, it was read in the assembly, I think it was read by someone responsible, by one of us, ... I think it changed every week, then, during the assembly, it was discussed." (Carla Brito).
- "There was a newspaper, something on the wall, taped to the wall, where we wrote the things we liked, things we didn't like and the things we liked more or less. And we wrote every week, some people went there to write, and on Friday, it was usually at the end of the week, we would get the whole class together and discuss it." (Judith Pinheiro).
- "We always had the journal on the wall, right, the "I like", "I don't like", but I don't remember that many events." (Milene Afonso).

Those who attended the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school more recently tell:

- "I remember the, I remember that, I don't remember what it was called, but that we had a cardboard, where, ... I don't remember exactly what we organised, but I remember that there were meetings of, between the class, we defined certain ... activities and that we put on this cardboard..." (Vítor Abreu).
- "... it was a leaflet that was on the wall and that had several columns, reviews, news" (Melissa Lousada).

Two end-of-course monographs, taking Voz do Operário da Ajuda classes as an object of study, presented by Cristina Nunes (1987) and by Sofia Faria (1989), both related to class management and the use of a permanent agenda , will make Sérgio Niza write about the journal, introducing the terms *"class diary"* and *"Council"*:

> "*Clara Felgueiras' work experiences, due to her careful attention to group dynamics and some analysis efforts pursued especially at the Algarve section, allowed some experimental studies to be carried out by the Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada*[135]*, especially at Escola da Voz do Operário da Ajuda and embodied the monographs of Cristina Nunes and Sofia Faria. My need to clarify the formative and evaluative role of "Wall Journal" and taking into account these new contributions, led me to the reformulation that I have been proposing*" (1991, p. 28).

In this article, Sérgio Niza argues that what he prefers to call the *class diary* is the engine of the *council*. It is not an exhibition of what was done, in the tradition of murals, but a permanent and open agenda to be discussed. Dora Agostinho agrees with this reformulation when she states that

> "... Although I think that the diary can also function like this [as a disseminator], [the students] found [it] important, both for forecasting the work, and even for us to give some clues. I also think that it was, that it is and that it has always been a necessary instrument."

Milene Afonso, psychology student at the time of the interview, refers to *Escola da Ponte*, as EBI Aves/São Tomé de Negrelos is commonly known, where she knows there is a school assembly and compares:

> "I know that, for example, at the Escola da Ponte it was slightly different, but there it was just us, we did it in our class, especially taking into account the wall journal, the likes, dislikes, euh, the column I don't know exactly what it was anymore, suggestions, maybe..."

Educational cooperation to manage collective and individual learning

Cooperation does not end with the board meeting. There are a set of testimonials about group planning that allows for individual planning.

As we have already had the opportunity to see, the cooperation council appears as a regulator and organizer of the group's life and of the camps organised outside the schools. However, it also regulates day-to-day work. Raul Bento thinks that this only happened sporadically:

> "I remember some meetings, or I remember one meeting in particular, that we had at the end of a term. No, no, it shouldn't be at the end of a term, it

[135] At the time the ISPA was the reference High School for Psychology in Lisbon, actually it is a private University.

> should be at the end of the school year, when we all talked about what we feel we've learned during the year, the differences, and I remember... (laughs) no I don't remember what I said... but I can see us talking about it..."

Later, Raul adds: "I think that ... I do n't know if this is true or not , but I have the idea that on Mondays, we always had a small meeting".

On the contrary, Carla Garcia talks about weekly meetings:

> "I often talk about these things, when I talk to people, it was at the end of the week, we used to do it, I don't know if it was at the end, but I remember doing it like this, a kind of meetings, assemblies, they were called assemblies, I thought that, I don't know if everyone talked about it, but one of the objectives [was that], I have the idea, because sometimes the memories fade and then maybe I'm delirious (laughs), but I, I was very little, I remember having that meeting".

Vítor Abreu agrees that the meetings were weekly, but he does not remember what they were called:

> "... I don't remember the name, I think it was once a week that we went by, and that we organised this cardboard, which was a news board."

On the other hand, he relates "such meetings" with work in the classroom:

> "... Now I can't remember if it was us organising the classes themselves, if they were activities, just activities that we did, maybe it makes sense that those activities were on the computer, or the division of activities into groups, inside the room, to that we could not do the same thing at the same time. ..."

This corresponds to what Melissa Lousada remembers: "... our goals were weekly, there was always the organisation of work, ... ".

There is evidence that collective regulation was taken very seriously. There are some photographs of council meetings on the day of the carnival parade, in which the children, already dressed for the parade, are in a meeting.

Milene Afonso focuses on:

> "Friday afternoon was basically the afternoon of the meeting, in which we reflected on, presented the result of the individual plan, that is, we had to deliver the individual plan, what we had proposed on Monday morning, reflect on that plan, on what we had managed to do, in fact, or not, handing in the respective sheets, and ... and it was the weekly class debate."

Planning is visible in the council, in the organisation of the week, but also in the projects. In class T3, the wall with general information presents a work plan, of which documents 186 and 187 present a detailed record. Done with the children of the *same* class, but now in the 4th year of schooling, with the title *" Work plan second period "* and

the subtitle *" We voted on the plan on 04.01.91 (assembly) "*, it states:

Portuguese

* Correspondence
  — before carnival: 1 letter to Belgium, 1 to Lurdes [former teacher]
  — after carnival: 1 letter to Belgium, 1 to Lurdes
* We produce illustrated books
  1. One selected text
  2. Texts transcribed on computer
  3. Texts illustrated with coloured illustration
  We all try at least to read 1 book until Easter.
* Newspaper:
  — We print 2 texts per week
  — 1 newspaper before and 1 after Carnival.
* All texts in the textbook
* Drama workshop with the 3rd class

Mathematics

* Computer: bag problem; research set cars; *until carnival*.
* We do at least 2 problems of the day per week.
* Comply with the mandatory minimums in the training cards.
* Experience corner: free for use

Physical and social environment

* 1 project before Carnival; 1 after Carnival.
* Already chosen topics:
  Lego; Water; Toys; Discoveries; Brazil; Love

Planning appears in some collective works, showing how they were organised. Examples are the album that reports the indoor camp in Portel and the exploration this municipality in the inner south. Planning is showed in the project *"Before and after. Over time, over time, from time to time... things change "* and the presentation of *"The dream island",* the work done on Berlenga Island.

Sometimes there is also, in addition to the planning, a small explanatory text. The album *"From snails to fascism"* has a preamble that explains how a study on snails leads part of the group to study the fascist period in Portugal, the study on dwarf rabbits begins with the story of the arrival of rabbits to the class and the album *"The crocodiles"* reproduces the text written by two children, later explaining how they recreated the story in LOGO on the computer.

Carla Brito clearly associates planning with evaluation:

> "But what I remember is that I had certain objectives, week by week, and that's when I had to do some Portuguese worksheets, a certain math worksheet, there were compositions, texts, but I don't remember if it was mandatory. (...) euh... every now and then there was a morning dedicated to correspondence with the Belgians, or work with the Belgians, I remember certain works we did, the work on the EEC, it was in third grade, if I'm not mistaken."

In fact, the work is organised according to the relationship that the class maintains with the environment that surrounds it. In the same way as they plan their international correspondence (Carla's Belgians), the T3 and T4 groups plan their work weeks together, before, during and after the indoor camp in Portel. Classes and teachers mingled around common activities: projects, text discussions, explorations of math activities. The T5 and T6 classes also used to plan together, largely due to the camps.

Selma Belo, who was part of the T3 class, relates the group's planning to the work that each one developed from then on:

> "But it wasn't stipulated. It was something that, at most, was approved by everyone and each one was going to do the area in which he felt more comfortable. If I felt like doing a drawing, I would do a drawing, if I felt like writing a text, I would do the text, it was time to do the math problem, it was a math problem, things weren't for hours, it was a bit according to us too, what we would like to."

Clarisse Rosa makes a slightly different interpretation:

> "...we started, as usual, with the plan for the day, the routines were, basically, the very long advice on Friday afternoon, the planning for the week on Monday morning, the text work [was] also a lot of days marked."

I will go into more detail in relation to individual work when I discuss the organisation of work[136] but it seems interesting to highlight the words of Sheila Castro when she says that planning allowed something that she thought was very important: "And then, the choice, the power to coordinate things , decide to choose, etc. Then there was the fact that we could work, the fact that we didn't have the conventional class, and we could work". Jorge Carvalho, Carla Brito and Milene Neves also remember the regulation of individual learning, assessed weekly. The last concludes with: "and this was something that I think made me ready, forever, of ... self-responsibility". At the end of the interview, Jorge Carvalho associates planning with file work, and eventually with studies and projects, recapitulates and notes: "... I remember the planning, I remember having these sheets laminated, ... we had compositions of various types, depending on the planning

[136] See *"A work organisation"* page 195.

we had done."

Carla Gouveia, Judite Pinheiro and Milene Neves, although from different classes, have converging memories. Individual time was dedicated on the one hand to training work with cards, and on the other hand to other activities, usually in small groups.

Professor Clarisse Rosa talks about the basis of the weekly organisation and remembers:

> "[what] today is called autonomous study time, I don't know exactly what it was called, we called it the work plan time."

The decisions taken together, regarding planning, are, in at least two classes, made possible by the collective information about the degree of competence of each one in reading, writing and problem solving. This information is, in classes T2 and T3, codified through the attribution of coloured belts taken from the institutional pedagogy. On the wall of class T3 there is a summary table, which also includes information about the level at which each one was in the basic school knowledge of spelling, grammar and problem solving.

This board, which Sheila Castro identifies as "the board with the circles" (transcription nº19) is remembered by Raul Bento, more specifically in relation to the training exercises:

> "I remember the table with those coloured circles, which the same ones we also had on the cards, which we used to do... hmm... so I assume it was to mark what we had done... (pause)... I have the idea that these cards were more or less organised, like a CD stand, more or less. They were laminated and I was trying to remember the contents of them,..."

Eye, ear, brain...

In the memoirs I collected, the council appears as a meeting with instituting and regulatory powers. It deals with the regulation of work content and monitors the elaboration of rules. It comes close to the council's definition presented by Vasquez and Oury (1967, p. 82):

> "*The cooperative council, which we consider a bit like the cornerstone of the system because this meeting has the power to create new institutions, to institutionalise the context of common life. The form of the meeting obviously varies, but all our co-op classes are characterised by the importance given to this council* ."[137]

This is the case in statements such as: "there were assemblies, once a week, always on Friday afternoon, where we discussed what had happened during the week through the Wall Journal" (Melissa Lousada) or "but also we would discuss more serious things, the

[137] Translated from French

very functioning of the classroom" (Tomás Duarte). Judite Pinheiro recognises the participatory nature of direct democracy when she says: "I don't think it was something imposed by the teacher, it was always something that was decided by the group".

In this council meeting everything is discussed, not just what the adult considers important. I remember Sérgio Niza quoting Freinet who warns in *"L'éducation morale et civique"* that only criticisms with a social impact should be inscribed in the wall journal, and not small more or less personal stories (smudging the notebook, pulling the hair, .. .) to continue:

> "*... here I distance myself from Freinet. The socialisation of all these behaviours can go through the class diary as long as the student finds it meaningful. It cannot serve as a direct complaint to the teacher, because the temptation to divert the resolution of a conflict to another instance of power besides the council, would weaken the regulatory and socialising importance of this body*" (1991, p. 29).

Fernand Oury explained that many of the conflicts stemmed from apparently insignificant friction, such as anger over the use of an eraser. Taking this conflict to the council and creating a rule for the use of collective material, exclusive or complementary to individual material, reveals the instituting power and turns the eraser into an institution. Once the rule is instituted, it is easy for the instituting group to remember it, improve it and help each other in its application. It does not imply endless debate on any subject. Taken literally, reading the wall diary becomes very tiring.

> "And the assemblies occupied the whole of Friday afternoon. We started — it was crazy — we started after lunch, which I don't remember what time, and it was even, the idea I have, is that, I don't know how they said it, but that it must have been, they must have had an idea that it was a 'boring drag' (laughs). Because in fact I thought that all that had to be discussed, and maybe I wasn't very sensitive to what was in my head, it was more what as a teacher I thought I had to fulfil, without being able to look too much at what it was, for the children isn't it, and therefore I don't know if they gained anything from it" (Clarisse Rosa).

Therefore, when there are complaints that are repeated, in the same council, and, which, in Carla Brito's memory, were of little importance, "a small complaint, Pascal intervened and said 'whingeing?' and the group said 'Yesssss' and passed through". It seems like a possible interpretation of the "maître-mots" that Vasquez and Oury (1977, p. 485) talk about when they describe the council's routines. Closer to these maître-mots is Julieta Lopes who tells:

> "I came to the conclusion that, especially in the early years, what was most there [in the wall newspaper] was the "I don't like". That was complicated, it

> took a long time, it ended up coming to nothing. Then there was a time when the daytime team went to see the newspaper what was not liked and went to the subscribers to ask if it was worth discussing that, or if it was already resolved, and that ended up being very summarised. And that's it, basically that was it, and it was the evaluation of their work during the week, with their individual plans, and above all the proposals."

The regulatory instrument outlined by Odete Xarepe (1991: 10) under the name assembly, and by Filomena Serralha *et al.* (1992: annex 79) under the name council[138], includes weekly plan, daily plan, wall journal or class diary, tasks, activities and projects and the individual plan, it is present in the statements of some interviewees. For Francisco Neto, already in kindergarten, it was regulation "of work we were doing, of proposals we had to launch, and of advice, of giving the word, I remember there being some work in this direction". Irene Querido talks about managing the room: "This was together, wasn't it, this management? We had some meetings and minutes and we all decided who did what. We'll show you what we've got". In the opinion of Julieta Lopes: "The assembly was practically a summary of the whole week, isn't it, of what went well, what went wrong, some work proposals also emerged from it, plus the organisation proposals , it was more this".

In her end-of-course monograph Cristina Nunes (1987) studies educational cooperation in another *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* class, prior to the T1 class, referring to Freinet, Institutional Pedagogy and the magazine *Escola Moderna.* Two years later, Sofia Faria (1989) observes the cooperative management of the classroom in class T2 for a year, intervening in it. The practice observed is framed in her work by Freinet and the institutional pedagogy. To define the class council, Sofia Faria resorts to the term *council* by Vasquez and Oury (Faria, 1989, p. 30), an important space in the regulation of work. In institutional pedagogy it is considered one of the two places of the word[139]. It resembles what Sérgio Niza defines as an educational cooperation council:

> *"It opens and closes the daily, weekly or other work cycles. The Council is thus a moment of articulation, reorganisation, coordination and institution par excellence* ." (1991, p. 28).

Further on he talks about:

> "*The center of institutional control of the execution of the activities and of the combined projects and of the systematic and critical analysis of their development;*

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138 See annex 1: evolution from assembly to council in the MEM.

139 The other is the "*Quoi de neuf?* " , equivalent to "novelties", "show and tell" and later to "reading, telling and showing" which more recently evolved into the concept of "presentation of productions" in the model proposed by the Portuguese Movimento da Escola Moderna.

> *the place of construction and critical debate of the norms of coexistence and the social behaviour of the group. "* (Niza, 1991, p. 28).

The locus with a complex and cooperative relationship, established in the group, thus goes beyond the notion of a simple regulatory meeting.
In this part, I tried to construct a look at ***the form*** of the instrument used in the classes of Voz do Operário da Ajuda to regulate power and organise work. In the next point we will look at ***the information*** made available to the group for the use of the instrument.

The organisation of the information

Contributions here-for emerged from the collected information that I organised around the keywords "*room wall" "work org. — records" "colour belts" "evaluation"* and *"teacher evaluation".* I summarise the information under this heading, focusing first on the material in "*Talking walls and transparent dossiers*" and then on the perceptions in "*Evaluate to know*". All the photographs and all the videos which show aspects of the internal organisation of the workrooms in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, generally present a medium rich in well-organised information. There is a wall that groups together management tools, with attendance maps, maps recording work done, rules and assessment standards, but also with work carried out by the children. In the school archive and in my personal archive I found evidence of information being made available in dossiers, posters and albums. Here, teachers speak more than the interviewed former students. With regard to the entry "*Evaluate to know*" there is information common to the various classes, although some are more related to the T2 and T3 classes in which the teachers introduced more elements directly coming from institutional pedagogy.

Talking walls and transparent dossiers

It is possible to group the information available on the walls and in the dossiers into three groups: there is organisation material, conceptualisation material and exhibition material. With the first group of material, checklists, rules, decisions, information concerning the organisation of space-time are understood. The second group of materials consists of posters based on collective discoveries, support schemes for the autonomous work that takes place in all classes during parts of the day. The third group of materials includes paintings, clay objects, but also exhibitions of realised studies. These exhibitions can have a more permanent character in the classroom itself, or a more ephemeral character, in common spaces of the building. The photographed documents kept in a bound dossier illustrate this variety well, in class T6 in the first year of schooling. There are 85 photographs of wall posters, alluding to support tools in mathematics, the first class dictionaries and the first systematisation of known words, as well as photographs of dossiers or

individual notebooks.

Material for organisation

In the filmed and photographed rooms, it is easy to identify the wall that groups adjustment instruments. As we can see from the replicas found, and which refer to the T6 class, there is a weekly plan that serves as a matrix, support grids for some responsible people, as for lunch, to write down the service teams. As a result of a council decision, there is a grid with the title *"Have we kicked and punched less? "* and another with *"Have we disturbed less? "* with an explanatory note that at the end of each week there is a count of the crosses that exist for each of the children. It was practice in that class to applaud those who had fewer crosses than they had the week before at the council meeting. The attendance maps serve to jointly analyse the working days that each one had.

There are photographs of the T2 class that show the records together, on a wall. The attendance maps of the T3 class are saved after leaving the wall. There are also photographs of the organisation wall from the same class. One can observe a colourful set of posters with the laws of the room, suggestions for work, explanations of codes used and

> "hanging, I mean, there was the board, with the circles, and such, but, because there were the cards hanging, there were games, there were things hanging, the colour wasn't that, it wasn't just that color of the students' drawings, usual, inside the room, they were from the activities, they were things that were scattered around, it was funny, it was different".
>
> (Sheila Castro)

A photograph of the T2 class focuses on the weekly schedule, posted on the classroom door. In the T5 and T6 classes that work together, the attendance maps can be observed as wel as checklists and a record with the minutes:

> "We basically had this on a wall, where we had these times more or less organised, right?, so that we knew, there couldn't be a week without us having some activity, a study, something" (Milene Afonso).

I found in the archive a grid with the title *"Who fulfilled the plan?"* from the T3 class. It is accompanied by records that facilitate self-responsibility for work. These quickly make it clear who is more advanced in the study and training of certain subjects and therefore can help others. And the colour belts appear again. The map of competence belts is very explicit in this class. But the use of registers varies from room to room:

> "[There are records] that I think always made sense, that they needed, that they were necessary. I'm someone who doesn't use records much, even for regulation. I think it has to be those that the group feels the need for (...)"

(Dora Agostinho).

In any case, the registers allow the collective management of the room. In the T3 class, the expense and income notebook, managed by the children and the teacher, makes it clear that the children are involved in the financial management of the class. There are filmed moments that show the class or team of the day at the moment they organise themselves, with their respective teachers, to plan the day, using the records placed on the wall.

For teacher Dora Agostinho, this is flexible management:

> "I, in theory, knew that, but in practice, it turned out to be a learning experience that I also took with them. I think that, through necessity, we started to see that there were situations in which the organisation of work really had to be done in council and together for things to work. Euh, (...) in some cases, the records, some that made more sense, others that made less, little. We were making attempts to improve this organisation through records, some worked better, others worked worse and ended up falling. And it ended..."

Material for conceptualisation

There are several documents that show another structured wall, linked to language issues. In several classes, we find this "language wall". We found lists of words as if it were a collective dictionary. In the documentary collection there are lists of words organised around a common characteristic (words with **-rr-** , words with **g-** , words ending in **-eu** , in **-ia** , in **-ai** for example[140]. In the case of the T3 class, who maintained a correspondence with a class in Leuven, also a bilingual list of words in Portuguese and Flemish.

For Mathematics, there are posters with information about standardised measures, explaining the use of the Cuisenaire material or Papy's mini-calculator[141]. As the school was, at the time, involved in the Minerva project that supported the introduction of the computer in the classroom and the work with the LOGO programming language, we also find, and usually on the wall close to where the computer in the room is located, information about the so-called ***primitives***, the basic elements of this language.

The availability of mathematised information begins in kindergarten, where we find a

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[140] Of course all examples for supporting language skills are directed to Portuguese.

[141] Structured support material to develop the concept of number, the conceptualisation of numerical relationships and expressions , the study of the multiplication table, fractions, decomposition into prime factors and to conceptualise the positional decimal system, in addition to supporting, in an initial phase, the training of mental calculus and calculus with the algorithms of four basic operations.

calendar of years, represented as a bar graph, built with drawings of each of the children, on standardised sheets.
This information is only mentioned by three of the interviewed former students, who speak mainly of information related to mathematics, as Francisco Neto testifies:

> "I remember that the room was like this with many things laid out, conclusions we had reached, summaries, summaries of visits, of what we learned, when we visited something there was always a summary, a poster, and we illustrated it, or in band drawn, or schematically. Hmm, there was also synthesis in mathematics, right, (...) I remember that the question of the Pythagorean table was important, right, I remember that I used it many times and it helped me to structure the concept of multiplication of numbers... up to 100, and I remember referring to that table."

Milene Afonso remembers the numerical line, just like Carla Gouveia who says:

> "We had a strap with the numbers, I think up to 99 or something. I remember perfectly when I came to know that negative numbers existed. That, I was completely devastated (laughs). It was a complication for my head. But is it possible to have numbers like that?"

The organisation's wall also displays information regarding ongoing projects. And, in addition to the previous information, we found another one, not so much about conceptualisation but more about design and management support. This is the case of the large project albums that involved the whole class, one of which was very present in the T3 class: one can see the double organisation of the visit to the correspondents, first from the Portuguese to the Belgians and then from the Belgians to the Portuguese through the extensive dossier constituted and managed together around these encounters.
We can also refer here to other support material, namely the files with proposals for training or exploring problems in the form of simple protocols or riddles. These files can be on a table or hung on the wall, as referred to by Sheila Castro.

Exhibitions

Much of the exhibition material refers, as Francisco Neto says on the previous page, to conclusions of collective works. For example, in class T6, we found a set of references to counting by 2, by 3, and so on, with schemes with carrots and rabbits, with Venn diagrams related to the correspondents' toys, or even with the register of baby teeth that are falling out.
Along with these discoveries,

> "hmm, I remember we had our paintings on the walls...". (Raul Bento).

Or, as Ricardo Azevedo says, some "graffiti" by children:

> "Designs. Some graffiti, I remember very vaguely. Not very well. Because it's been years and years and now that I'm 26, [I remember] even less."

Of another order are the experiments set up in the room and which are resumed from time to time. In an extensive footage, lasting more than half an hour, there is an investigation, conducted by the professor, about the speed of a car, on an inclined plane, where one variable is changed at a time. For this experience, the group has material, based on lego, related to Logo programming.
In conclusion, it seems to me that we can say that dossiers and walls provide a set of information necessary for the good collective management of space and time. Dora Agostinho says in this regard:

> "I think the instruments are all intertwined in one way or another to that, aren't they. Starting with the weekly plan that was really important. It was, and I think it is really essential, a weekly plan for everyone to know, what everyone is going to do regardless of whether it is collective work or individual work. I think this is one of the instruments that they have always valued, obviously that most of the time also because of the council, what needs to be done, what has been done and what has not been done, isn't it, and that ends many times for, for testing the instruments."

It is possible to establish a collective look at the reality of the class, based on the interpretation that each one makes of the information made available by all.

Evaluate to know

Álvarez Mendez uses this phrase as half of the title of an essay, which continues with *examine to exclude*. The collected documents and testimonies show that the work at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is guided by a continuous evaluation in the sense of *"being a training resource and a learning opportunity"* (Álvarez, 2002, p. 17), far from the examination routine to controle the capacity to regurgitate embedded knowledge. The projects start from discussions, wills, observations that there is something we don't know. Improving work management starts with checking the work done.

A collective perception...

In class T3, we found a record *"Who fulfilled the plan?"*. But working outside school involves also rituals for evaluating the visit to the place where it takes place and working together with the correspondents also generates a moment of evaluation while the visit is taking place. We observe the exhaustive research of the vocabulary used in the texts and how it is used. In the pedagogical monograph that presents the T2 class, there is a collective "we did" that leads to the organisation of the following work. This continuous assessment associated with moments of advice

allows the management of individual and collective learning, endorsed by the words of Álvarez Mendez:

> "*Let us be clear: all assessment practices that do not form, that do not educate and with which people do not learn must be eliminated from non-university levels, those in which education is mandatory because it is considered a common good and universally recognised as a guarantee to reduce social inequalities*" (2002, p. 19).

The institutional pedagogy belts that were used in at least three of the classes reported here seem to have helped to create in those classes a context in which the assessment obeyed clear criteria, recalled by Milene Neves and Irene Pires:

> "And there was a whole network of colours, a scale of colours, that went, in which people reached certain categories of responsibility, punctuality, attendance, good manners, and I remember that it was the child who proposed the colour for which I was going to but that this was subject to being validated by the class" (Irene Pires).

In at least one situation, it was a question of finding a pragmatic solution that did not distort the evaluative principles of a learning pedagogy, a critical pedagogy, as designated by Álvarez Mendez (2002), clearly distinguishing it from the pedagogy by objectives that stems from a positivist interpretation of school action and requires certification rituals.

> "Because, what I think was very interesting about the *Voz* and the classes where I was, is that the students were very diverse. And I think I function one way, and at the same time I have mental images of people functioning very differently. This thing of saying that I never went for a colour that I didn't want, because I always made an effort, and in this sense I think that the *Voz* was quite worthy" (Irene Pires).

Teacher Clarisse Rosa tells how she remembers:

> "It was difficult to reach everyone, because then there were also some problems, some conflicts, and therefore I always had to manage some conflicts even in those moments of ... when they were supposed to be studying and doing some training, the worksheets, the... so...
> I remember that it was with these groups that I introduced the colour system for the first time, therefore. The colour transition was always discussed a lot in the councils, so it was with this group that I introduced... the colours... ***Me***: Are you talking about the colours that come from institutional pedagogy? ***Clarisse:*** Exactly. Okay, I don't know if... there was a time when I took it very seriously, right, not at least because there were a lot of kids with behaviour problems, and I think that up to a certain point, it ended up working and helping".

The criteria were known to all and posted in the classroom, in a specific space. There is also a colour chart that refers to language skills, problem solving and behaviour and is clearly influenced by the institutional pedagogy of Vasquez and Oury (1967, 1977). In class T2, next to the laws of the class, a sheet clarifies the colours used in the color chart:

(Black) * Knows how to lead a team. * (Almost) always follows the rules. * Helps to sort out the rules instead of complaining.	(Brown) * Help others. * Always stick to the plan. * Criticise and propose in the assembly. * Collaborate in group work. * Knows how to run an assembly.
(Blue) * Packs up own stuff. * Respects the decisions of those responsible and the assembly. * Circulates around the room without disturbing others.	(Green) * Tries to abide by the rules. * Rarely sticks to plan. * Guards other people's things. * Is able to go alone to the bathroom.

I found photographs in my personal collection of the T3 class in which I was a teacher. Two of them present a montage that gives an overview of the informative wall that will allow everyone to be held accountable, where, again, the influence of institutional pedagogy is obvious. In the first, a long sheet of paper for dot matrix printers is observed, on which the behaviour colour belts are defined:

White * try to respect the laws * try to work * try to use the wall journal	Yellow * asks the day responsible to speak * participates in collective activities * respects the laws of the group
Red * respects the orders of the day responsible * respect orders of those in charge * works on purpose on the computer * tidies up tools at the end of an activity	Green * respects collective and individual tools on using them * pay attention in collective moments * manages to fulfil the individual plan * does not disturb others in the room * leaves the room alone without causing problems

Blue	Brown
* always speak quietly * has the responsibility * can support others * works without problems	* actively participates in the assembly * is day responsible on assembly days

Black
* is considered [behaving like] an adult

(emphasis added: color increases are only discussed in the assembly)

The 1989-1990 class diary, which I found in my personal collection, says: *"let's match (criteria for) behavioural colours."* This is a decision taken on 6 October 1989. The diary presents a first draft on 11 October. From that moment on, there are regular appointments among the decisions of the assemblies with information such as *"Hugo passes blue behaviour; Rita passes black behaviour"* or *"14. DC experiences a week the green"*: during the week, everyone can record observations that help the child and the class to decide whether the belt will be awarded or not. From the same child we found an observation grid to help him receive the blue belt.
Above the belt map, the colours for reading are explained:

(*white) reads some words*
(yellow) reads short sentences
(red) reads a text with great difficulty
(green) read aloud / notions of punctuation
(blue) read aloud / respects punctuation
(brown) read ??? in ?? ??
(black) read pleasantly to the audience

There were transposed criteria for the level of difficulty of the work cards, to facilitate the management of autonomous work. In this regard, Carla Brito says:

> "I remember there were several colours. Yes There was green, yellow, euh... I don't remember anymore... it was like the triage in the emergency room that I know[142], which is an experience, but the colours mean levels, for example, if I pass a certain level, in that color, or to the next level, but I don't remember specifically if I was the one who did more Portuguese worksheets, or by the number of worksheets I did per week (...)".

Sheila Castro, who was a student of the class for a little less than one school year, adds:

> "... And after x in x time, you would expose the colours we were in, and such,

[142] At the time of the interview, Carla Brito worked in emergency service as physician.

> and we saw where we were. I remember one of the things that really satisfied me, was realising that I was average in most subjects. And in some it would be a little higher, I think between blue and green, something like that. And then that was very rewarding."

...an individual perception...

There are several interlocutors who talk about the evaluation of their individual work. Among them, there are two who were students in a class where colour belts were not used; they associate the individual plan with the achievement of goals. Thus, Tomás Duarte explains:

> "And I remember, in the evaluation, sometimes not being able to reach the objectives, or then, also, my own colleagues when the evaluation was carried out, I am not sure anymore, but I think that afterwards we talked about the work developed and the number of cards that each one made, that afterwards there were also certain considerations why a person did more, or why a person did less."

Carla Garcia adds:

> "At the end of the week, we had to analyse, oh no, at the beginning we said, we had to predict, we had to predict "I'm going to do three in mathematics and... five in Portuguese", make-believe, and, at the end, we had to see whether or not I had met my goals."

As I have already mentioned, in classes where there were colour belts, the training exercises and learning consolidation, on small laminated sheets, had a degree of difficulty translated by the same set of colours.
Raul Bento, who was a student in one of these classes, has only a vague idea of the evaluation process:

> "We always had a small meeting, a small meeting about how our weekend had been, and, or on Friday, or at the end of the month, we would do the same, as it had been the whole week, an evaluation, which we would do, ourselves. Once again, I can't say whether it was weekly or monthly, but I also have this idea..."

Irene Querido, Raul Bento's classmate notes, in relation to the evaluation of the work:

> "I think that there, in the part of the meetings, there was also a lot of talk about that, and being informed and the passage of levels of each thing."

And Sheila Castro adds:

> "... there was always something new, there was no boredom, because something, we would do the evaluation form and move on to a new subject, I

mean, it was always in constant change."

Both associate this organisation with ways of work in which each child can find its rhythm and the level at which to function:

"the fact that we can work individually, not being put to the test with classmates, allowed me to advance a little more in accordance with my immense difficulties, and allowed that perhaps no one realised how bad I was in relation to others, and advance much further, therefore not being afraid of my difficulties, and not concentrating so much on my difficulties, but on learning precisely. So I ended up being able to advance much further." (Sheila Castro).

"I have a very clear image of the math cards, the levels, with colours, with different colours, I remember that it must have had, back then, as it started today, a diversified teaching, (laughs)" (Irene Querido).

... and the role of the teacher

There is not much information about the specific role played by teachers with regard to assessment. Carla Garcia talks about the revised and returned work, but without remembering very well how everything was processed:

"Julieta took the worksheets and plans home, and also corrected the work we did, and returned it to us with her appreciation of the work. And ah!, and sometimes there was, there was a line in behaviour, that is, how I had behaved throughout the week, it came in the analysis itself, but ... why do I remember that? ... because it almost always did. She said always "very good", but I have an idea that she sometimes says "well, your behaviour this week..." (laughs) ... I have an idea... I am sure, I happen to be sure..."

Carla Gouveia, who also had Julieta Lopes as a teacher, remembers a similar procedure:

"and then Julieta made an assessment to see if we had complied or not and if it was good or not. That was really good because from then on we knew we wanted to do that, giving it a certain form of responsibility right away."

The video presenting a working day in the T5 and T6 classes begins with the morning start. There, the children are arranging personal productions, in what could be an organisation of work plans and evidence of achievement. They include seemingly pre-made documents. It is not possible to understand if it is a standardised evaluation instrument or if it is simply the use of existing material.

Anyway, Selma Belo[143] only remembers the work evaluation at the end of the day:

> "How was this controlled? I don't know if at the end of, when the class was ending, or the day, we did it then, each group had done their work and then, there it is, at the end of the class, the teacher would ask what had been done and ask, table to table, but I don't remember well."

In this part, I tried to understand the organisation of information that allows the sharing of regulatory power and the evaluation of work, in this cooperative context. It is on the organisation of work that I focus my attention in the last part of this triptych.

A work organisation

In 1990, the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda school* board, that is, the collective of teachers, decided to publish a brochure that explained the school and its pedagogical proposal. Here, the management of time, room and space is described, before focusing on the relation that is sought to be created with power and knowledge. On the organisation of work, Manuela Machado writes:

> "*The reciprocal interaction model is based on the principles of active pedagogy in which the teacher is responsible for guiding and facilitating learning, encouraging the exchange of knowledge and personal and cultural experiences, awakening intrinsic motivation for learning tasks, developing a sense of cooperative, creativity, autonomy and democratic participation.*
> *Many teachers at the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school have been following their path for a long time, dedicating their lives to pedagogical renewal, looking for a different space where students are the main protagonists of their learning*" (1990, p. 3).

This reciprocal interaction comes, as we saw in the previous points of this subchapter, from the management of responsibilities, but above all from the complex organisation based on the council and the organisation and availability of information. Now it remains to understand how the work is organised. For this part I used the information that determined the origin of the following keywords: "*plan evaluation" "organisation of the day" "work organisation" "plan" "planning" "plan of the day" "work individual plan".* I first look back at the work context, then understand the daily collective planning of this same work, and finally understand the regulation of individual contributions and their evaluation.

The work context

Space and time are available for the entire school community to organise their work. The rooms always allow diversified work. Usually work in small groups, with the material at hand. A glance at the T2 class shows groups or individuals, using

[143] Student of the T3 class between 1987 and 1991.

collective material, organised spaces (computer, painting). Two groups organise themselves around the work of preparing a large project or jointly prepare parts of a chapter of a long text produced together. The T3 class has a room divided into small workspaces, where each one sits depending on the work or the people they were working with. Sheila Castro recalls: "I don't think we had [marked places]. I think we arrived and we sat wherever there was room, it was... the management was easy. There were n't many conflicts".

Carla Brito says:

> "I remember we used school supplies. Stapler, but also pencil I don't remember having personal material, which I took [from home]. (Long pause) I remember — it wasn't work material, but I remember — the parakeet we had in fourth grade. I don't remember specifically, if it was a box, where we put the work cards we achieved".

As already mentioned, this organisation involves providing information, but also the means[144] and routines that allow work. I trow attention to the responsibilities I've already covered. Among the explanations of the functions are, by way of example for the class text book and the collective material (and tools).

The collective material is cleaned, organised and made available by those responsible. In the 1990 booklet *"Our School"* DG, then 9 years old, who switched the responsibility for the press which he had before, to the computer, writes:

> *"Hello. I am the DG and my responsibility is the computer. I'll explain: I have to put the floppy disks in the drives and load logowr, which is a program where one makes drawings with a turtle to which you give various orders".*

class text book	collective school material
– You always take notes of who presented texts for the class textbook. – Controls whether the texts are copied within a period of 15 days. – Texts chosen for the newspaper are pasted after printing. – Calls the attention of colleagues who are late in copying. – Let the assembly know (you write on the wall newspaper) when you have problems with a colleague who does not copy the text.	– tear material on a daily basis and provides for the purchase of new material a week in advance. – Indicate who takes material to the table or workgroup. – If at the end of the day something is missing, notify immediately the afternoon meeting and write it down in the newspaper. – You are not responsible for what is lost, but you are responsible for the daily control of the collective material. – Ask for the inventory of the material for which you are responsible and immediately write down any changes.

144 See above, *"Innovative teaching means?"*

Vítor Abreu has some doubts as to whether there was the same work for everyone, but then he says:

> "I think not. Or I think..., yes... it was a small group. If I'm not mistaken... Because I remember that I was working on the computer and that there weren't any big interruptions, so maybe that means that we weren't working [on the same thing] at the same time."

After organising the work, for part of the day each one dealt with their tasks. As Milene Afonso tells:

> "And these tasks could be as different as reading a book, like painting, like going to the painting isn't it, to the painting place. Whatever... We dedicated more time to the study of the environment, which would be the group work, for example, that we were doing, anyway, it could be more Portuguese worksheets, or more mathematics worksheets, anyway, it could be. Or helping classmates, I think we even had criteria about that."

Selma Belo remembers:

> "I think that each group, I don't know if it was a group, or each student took up a worksheet and did their work, not everyone was doing the same. And then I think the problem sheets were solved by the whole class."

These testimonies are supported by many images. It is possible to see one child doing an experiment and in the background observe the box with protocols. In another space in the room, two children are producing a text on the computer. The same logic holds when the group is working outside the school. On the farm where the Alvito camp was held, small work groups are organised around specific tasks.

At school the whole building is a working place. Clarisse Rosa reports, in this regard:

> "I worked in the two rooms that had doors to the playground. With this group [T2] I worked in that huge room, bigger, isn't it, and the playground door was always open, so there wasn't a big separation, there were jobs that could be done at the playground. I think that the playground was an extension of the classroom, deep down, there was no [border]... And many things, due to the fact that the class had many pupils, could be done [outside], and I myself pushed them a little to the playground, to see if they... even some project work, which they could do, either in the playground or in the basement."

Plan the big jobs

The aforementioned brochure was the subject of a presentation with an exhibition at the school itself. In a way, it anticipates what Filomena Serralha writes twenty years later, when she talks about the organisation of work:

> "*Students and teacher negotiate together, when meeting in Council, the planning*

> *of cooperative actions that enable them to fulfil the social contract (program) that binds them all, being, therefore, this law, what brings the members of the community together, above all, when together, by resorting to scientific work (projects), they transform the National Curriculum into 'works'. "* (2009, p. 26).

I called "big jobs" those that involve the whole class. Two types of work emerge. A first type consists of an extended study, which is aggregated around a theme, subdivided and treated by subgroups. This is what usually happens with the camps or with long explorations, like the Lisbon study, for example. The result is an album and an exhibition with presentation to the community.

Another type of work involves the whole group in the discussion and presentation phase, but not necessarily in the research phase. Here we find themes such as *"The cat", "The boats", "The wolves", "Turtles"* but also related to ephemeris, where the 25th of April[145] stands out. There are, from different years, many different projects on the subject, as we will see later.

Although discussed in collective moments, equivalent to a council, or even during a council, the genesis of a work can have to do with small incidents. This is the case of *"From snails to fascism"* about which Julieta Lopes observes:

> "I made up some math problem [related to snails] and a group of girls gave the right answer (laughs), it was a group of only girls. And I said: *"There is no doubt that girls are much smarter than boys!"* (laugh). Oh man, they fell on me! They called me a fascist, I didn't know why, isn't it. Then I took the opportunity to say that I could have been accused of anything else, but never of being a fascist, so whoever said that, did not know what fascism is. From then on, we also did a very good study on fascism, which was called *"from snails to fascism"*.

The revolt over a fig tree being cut down, reported by the teacher in *"After the fig tree was cut, a lot happened..."* leads to several projects, carried out by the T5 class. The strategy was as Judite Pinheiro describes:

> "That is, one would talk about a topic, another would talk, he was able to discuss, but that one is better, in everything they would get together in one, or by groups, each one would decide what they wanted to do. But I don't remember having seen that the teacher even said, don't do a project on that, sorry, no."

In this specific case, it was the teacher herself who even encouraged the work on the fig tree and on the treatment of the trees. Projects related to nature and a contact with *Quercus*[146] will take the T5 and T6 classes and their correspondents to

[145] Celebration of the Carnation Revolution

[146] Portuguese environmental study group at the time

Berlenga Island.

The indoor camp in Portel equally involved the two participating groups in the whole process. This indoor camp occurs after the T3 group has gained organisational capacity with the meeting with its correspondents. The camp album and the video-graphic documents explain the preparation and execution of the work, as well as the subsequent treatment that ends with the presentation of the aforementioned album on display to the parents. Planning goes through joint council meetings. The same type of planning can be recognised for the week of camp in Alvito, realising the involvement of the children through the presentation of the whole work plan, in a preparation meeting with the parents. The study on Lisbon follows the same type of planning as if it were a camp. There are working groups for different areas of the city. The recognition of the various locations are discussed and evaluated, eventually in loco.

The groups involved in meetings with national or international correspondents are organised in a similar way, producing documents based on these meetings. Selma Belo says:

> "I remember. I think so. We did ... I remember that we went there, and, there it is, we had the tasks we wanted to do and I think this also came back here, and I think we went to do some work simultaneously or in this case with the teacher from here and the teacher there. There was continuity. It wasn't just something to get to know each other, it was for, at the teaching level, to keep in touch and have structure, so that we could have something in common. Yes, there was continuity."

In a video-graphic document Selma is seen explaining the organisation of work in a conversation with Belgian journalists. The joint planning of the two groups leads to a short presentation of the work, the day before the visiting group leaves.

plan the week

Long-term projects influence weekly planning. In several documents it can be observed the week's planning and its registration on the board comes from an initial discussion. But the use of time for other matters is also discussed. An example is the discussion of how to use the mathematics manual in class T5. Memories are more vague when it comes to the 1st year of schooling compared to what some of the interviewees remember from the 3rd and 4th years:

> "I don't remember for example, in first class we did group work like that of everything we did... hmm... later on, it's possible that we did, but I have no memory of them" (Milene Afonso).

Here, Rita Silves (T7 class) makes an explicit comparison with what she claims to know

from other schools and states:

> "At other schools it was: now you have to do this, on Tuesday you'll have to do that. Not at *Voz*, we planned what we thought we needed to do. As we were all different kids, not everyone had the same difficulties, and, we, each one there knew what you had to commit more to, whether you had to commit more to Portuguese or mathematics (...). That responsibility of being the ones distributing the study, distributing things, very small, 7, 8 years old! We had to know how to distribute the study so it wouldn't get too tiring, so we wouldn't arrive on Friday and have a lot to do, but arrive on Friday and have everything already done."

I remember that in the T2 class, roughly 10 years earlier, Jorge Carvalho presented, as president of the council, the collective program for the next week. In fact, we can consider that these are routines assumed by the school community, to manage the production of their "works".

Planning collectively the working day

The pieces of diary that I found in my personal archive show a collective daily planning routine. A note sheet found in this collection refers to a ten-minute *"morning catch up"* with chairs in a circle, followed by *"making the day's plan"* after which *"everyone goes to their place"*. Filmed moments of similar morning rituals appear.

This joint planning was, for Sheila Castro, a new student arriving in the 4th grade class, the great revelation:

> "And the first big impact I had, was the issue of having a schedule to choose from, ... When we chose our schedule, we obviously had to have a minimum of Portuguese worksheets, a minimum of mathematics, reading, of etc. But until that, then, the remaining hours, we were the ones choosing so."

In this aspect, Francisco Neto makes a comparison with the autonomous study of his pupils, in the class in which he is a teacher:

> "... now we are speaking (...) of the time for autonomous study, work..., [In the Voz do Operário da Ajuda] I think it was daily, yes, I think that every day we had a part of the day, in principle it was an hour to do, therefore to fulfil the activities that were there in the individual work plan."

In this regard, Julieta Lopes has similar memories, when she talks about the organisation of the day:

> "There were specific things. So, in the morning there was the completion of the plan... for example, Monday, Monday was the organisation day. Practically the morning, the first part of the morning was for organising. Therefore, it was the individual plans, it was the collective plan, it was the organisation.

> Then, normally, in the second half, it was either language or mathematics that was worked on collectively. Afternoons were for working on the plan, and that was the time when we were free to support the various children in need."

The day planning is therefore an important moment in the daily organisational routine. It is visible on the board and is explained together with those day responsible or day team. Jorge Carvalho says:

> "Obviously I am more aware of the 3rd and 4th grades, hmm, we entered in the morning, we had a summary, everyone had a notebook, we were forced to copy the summary of what we were going to do."

Regulation of individual contributions in the general work plan and its evaluation

There are no other testimonies about copying the daily plan to the notebook, but Selma Belo remembers how everyone agreed on what each one was going to do, in the class, as with the correspondents:

> "I think, I want to, I don't know if, and I think that in Belgium we also did that, we had it at the beginning of the class, we made a chart of what we were going to work on, throughout the day, I remember, I know that we did that in Belgium, I have a video, I remember that we did the preparation of the day, of the things that each one would like to be done. I don't know if we did that there too. But it was not stipulated. It was something that, if anything, was approved by everyone and everyone was going to do the area they felt most comfortable with."

In fact, in the school's assets, there is a video that shows the joint organisation of the Belgian and Portuguese classes, when they are together, in the Belgian school. The testimony of two teachers explains the relationship between the collective plan and individual planning:

- "So, we started by making the plan for the day, with the things we had to complete the plan ... and then we immediately distributed who did what, therefore, the collective moments with everyone and then the distribution of the work that resulted from the plan weekly, I think" (Clarisse Rosa).
- "As long as I brought the text up, when we started a job, or at lunchtime or something like that. And they, I don't know if it went well, if it went bad, I just know that they got the job done (laughs)" (Julieta Lopes).

Contributions from and to the group

The collective exhibition of collective and individual products is a constant. Parents are regularly invited to visit the school for exhibitions of children's work, from kindergarten onwards. The work, the products and the way to achieve them are

regularly evaluated and discussed:

> "... I think it was talked about in council. We were all gaining this awareness, what each one needed. Of course, the teacher was always a reference, the teacher's opinions were always a strong reference, what she said was the law, not least because it's part, at these ages, isn't it, to take the word of an adult as it is, but I remember that we ourselves often came to conclusions about it, isn't it, what, and we knew, deep down, we knew also when we were running away too" (Francisco Neto).

The discoveries made by the children are valued through exhibitions in the classroom, or through the small books and brochures they made. There are among the documents the little books made by those who have stories, reports of experiences to tell, as well as records of mathematical experiences.

There was always a lot to do and to show next, as Sheila Castro says:

> "... there were some specific classes but there was a lot that was left to our discretion, that was fabulous, because it was ours, it was our organisation. And we imagine, *Ah! Now I don't feel like doing that. No, I chose to do that*, so there was no "*I don't feel like it*", because it was always up to us to choose. And so there wasn't that annoying "*then I have to go to school*" no, they were always things that we had chosen, and I think that makes all the difference."

More than a differentiated pedagogy, this is a wharf class, where projects are welcomed and where work is organised around them. As there are different works in progress in the group, there is a great concern that everyone can benefit from what each one is developing. Individual projects support collective projects and the collective project is the result of joint discussion of an initial idea launched by students or teachers. It is work chosen freely by each one, interpreted, depending on an *a posteriori* link with the curriculum by all. Clarisse Rosa is very clear on this point when she says:

> "There was a big investment, even in things with Guida, with the way of presenting works, the albums, the issue of artistic expression, which was highly valued. So, at the time, a lot was still being done [something] that now in the model of the movement, I think is not. At the time of the plan work, expression activities were also included, wasn't it: therefore, the part of painting and artistic expression and drawing, or other works that the kids wanted to do in that context. We didn't designate it [by] project, we thought it should be done simultaneously, because that was also work, we included it in the plan work. They were works in which, having the room organised, the kids who went to these areas, normally didn't need our support so much; so there were fewer kids who needed support."

Contributions from and to the individual

The regulation of individual contributions clearly involves the existence of a programming sheet, entitled individual work plan, as it is known in the MEM's pedagogical model, or simply "*plan de travail*" of institutional pedagogy.
This work plan is currently conceived as the child's personal agenda, through which it can articulate the own work with interactions with others. In the brochure *"Our school"* there is an example of an evolving plan somewhere between the plan for individual activities limited to individualised work times of the child-centred approach in the pedagogical learning paradigm, to the individual work plan that accompanies the children throughout the week, in their interactions with themselves, with others and with knowledge.
The speeches of some interviewees testify some of the ambiguities that existed at the time. For some, like Irene Pires, it was about planning individual work:

> "I remember that we used to do a series of different things. Hmm, for example, I can start with the work plan. I remember that we were, we defined, we had a series of options, like Portuguese, mathematics, painting, eh, I don't know, things like that, and we had a weekly sheet where we proposed how many sheets to do for each theme. "

Carla Garcia[147], when talking about planning and the demands made, recalls:

> "this was the idea of our responsibility in the process (laughs). I thought it was so cute (laughs). I felt grown up, I had that, and then I always fulfilled it. (laugh). I was a girl with a lot of discipline. There was that day to do that, and then I tried to do that, I was sharing... nowadays I'm still like that. At least, at work, I have things to do, I have little time, so I have little time and I know what I have to do, I will organise it and the intensity of my work will be based on that. I have a lot, nowadays, I find it very easy, given a certain period of time, to organise it in order to do what I have to do."

Jorge Carvalho remembers that it included arithmetics, compositions and paintings, therefore individual work. Carla Gouveia thinks in the same direction: "clay, painting, chips, things like that". For Rita Silves, who attended school ten years later than Jorge Carvalho and Irene Pires, it was a personal work plan:

> "I remember the work plans, which I think was fantastic, we had a responsibility there, which was not like in other schools, at least from what I have spoken with other colleagues."

Selma Belo, a student in the T3 class, at the time the aforementioned brochure was

147 Class T5, 1990-1994.

written, remembers the plan, more like a work organizer:

> "I think that was a bit... the teacher left it up to us, ... hmm ... we had to fulfil, finish the work we had committed to... now, we probably had a predefined structure of what we would have to do. Now, how we were going to do it or what the order was, was left to our discretion."

For those who associate the individual work plan more with personalised and individualised work, the training work with the cards is very present. Carla Garcia notes, in this regard:

> "There were, on the left side, activities related to the Portuguese language, mathematics, I don't know if the study of the environment, I think there were, ok, the various areas of learning, then, in the columns, on the right, we put — for example, I liked a lot of Portuguese language, so, [marked] — there was, I think we had a minimum, minimum number of each... (...). I remember we were the ones saying X worksheets that were available to everyone."

Milene Afonso associates a minimum requirement:

> "I remember perfectly what it consisted of, that is, I remember that it was a sheet with squares and that we had to fill in the number, we had the minimum work plan, which we approved, which would be the minimum work plan, which was something like two math sheets, two Portuguese sheets, and one or two other reading things, or something like that. We had a mandatory minimum plan, which we had to comply with during that week."

However, teacher Julieta Lopes recalls the plans were those adopted by the school, and continues:

> "I was never that happy about those plans. Then there were some, I don't know, who were card takers, they made a lot of cards out there... and this led to having... I didn't have a maximum plan, I didn't have a minimum plan, no."

Tomás Duarte contests the idea that there is no minimum plan, but extends it to more than the resolution of worksheets, when he states:

> "We had to do it, we couldn't always do everything we wanted, sometimes we were forced to do certain activities. I think... I remember, to some extent, it was up to us to decide. The PIT[148] was us who decided, for the most part, is what he was saying."

Melissa Lousada remembers the personal work plan, sometimes more rigid, sometimes less:

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[148] That is how the plan was referred to in the classroom: PIT stands for Plano Individual de Trabalho (a kind of personal working plan) and ***is not PTI*** - Plano de Trabalho Individual (Plan for Individual Work)

> "... it was the PIT when there were times when, I don't remember very well what it was like, but there were times when we had to do a minimum number of math sheets, language, a text, clay, painting, reading a story... reading... and... other minimal things. At one time there was a plan that was the same, which was like the minimum, at another time it was us who at the beginning of the week planned what we were going to do throughout the week and then we had to fulfil what we planned."

Sheila Castro says:

> "... we were the ones who organised, and we chose. That, for me, had a huge impact, because it gave me a freedom of choice, which I knew very well, that, because this power of choice, of coordination was, for now, it was a deposit of trust."

In fact, the photographic collection indicates a practice allowing diversified work, regulated by this instrument. The frequent presence of two or three children at a work station, working together, on the computer, in the carpentry shop, on a work project, suggests a situation closer to a work schedule than to individual work. At the time of the evaluation, we see groups of children checking what has been done, their work proposal. They paint, for example, the markings of tasks planned and carried out after working individually or together, in small group work situations.

Assessment of the individual work

The general assessment of these work plans is carried out by the council (assembly). Each one obliges himself or herself to try to fulfil his plan. When the work was incomplete, the group tries to understand what happened. When someone is not there, the conversation is postponed, as can be seen from Dora Agostinho's question in a council: when it turns out that Vítor Abreu, whom she wants to ask some questions about the execution of his work plan, is not there, Tomás Duarte, president that day, proposes rescheduling the conversation for the following Monday.

This evaluation is important according to Francisco Neto, "to help us not to lose ourselves in the middle of our autonomy".

Milene Neves remembers:

> "discussing the plan, what we had proposed and what we had not proposed, I remember everything being very well discussed, I thought this was very good, now I think this is very good (laughs), at the time I didn't know (laughs), but we always argued, because I remember having a friend, who was one of the twins, who was Rita, we didn't compete, but we had some complicity and we always did everything the same."

In an evaluation meeting of the T5 and T6 classes, for example, the focus is on

individual work around worksheets and reading moments. There is a discussion about a carpentry job that required group work, which led to changes in individual work plans, because it took longer than expected.
In general, it should be noted that fourteen of the interviewees refer to the individual work plan when recalling the participatory organisation of learning activities. One hundred and ten non-iconographic documents (a quarter of the total) report to the same plan. It is visible in twenty-five photographs (7%) and in five of the twenty-four videos. With several interpretations and memories not always in unison, Rita Silves concludes: "in terms of study, this was very good, the working plans".

I tried to understand how the procedures and instruments that distribute power in the first point are remembered and described. In the second point, I tried to understand how the instrument-procedure allowing the regulation of power relations, group organisation and work organisation is perceived. Now I will explore the memories that evoke the relations between people, to perceive how the knowledge possession interferes with the exercise of power.

Relations between people

The questions

Is the relationship between people in Voz do Operário influenced by the way power is regulated? How is experienced the relation between learners and teachers in the classroom? How is the experience of the "convivial school" or "family school" *(The fig tree school)* expressed in the relationship between people?
There is an important web of relations between the various groups in the school community and within the school community itself. Cooperation and cooperative work is referred and there is talking about the complex web of relations between all the people who cross paths at school.
In three points, I fixed evidence of relations between children, work relations, and relations between the school community as a whole, where there is a greater focus on relations between adults who are part of this community.

Relations between children

The keywords "*Maria's story*[149]" "*friends*" and "*relationship between children*" group the memories of those who were together at the same school. They are group feelings and friendships visible in photographs and filmed documents, not very different from those that exist in other groups of belonging. As Irene Pires points out, when she talks about meeting again with someone who was also on *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* making

[149] Fictitious name

a critical analysis of the school and the proper path:

> "It's always good to see people who grew up in the *Voz*, did primary [school] in *Voz*, and see how they adapt to today's world, I think above all, they are people whenever — for example this reasoning that this guy had, I think which is from a person who is very aware of himself and realises exactly how different he is — and I think this is something that the *Voz* instilled a lot with this system of self-criticism and the class later reflecting on how you are behaving. And this reflection, this process, I think is typical of someone who had school at the *Voz*. Okay. I know friends of mine who haven't been at the *Voz*, and who also have this self-criticism and this power of analysis. But it was always something that I judged a little bit [of the *Voz*]...."

Irene Querido remembers a particular situation. In her class there was the Roma girl Maria. When the possibility of visiting the group of correspondents in Belgium was considered, a lot of time and patience was needed to persuade Maria's parents to also participate in the voyage, which was achieved shortly before the journey, although her plane tickets was already included in the collective purchase. Coming from a family with serious economic difficulties, a small amount was obtained through social services to buy new clothes for the voyage:

> "I remember Maria's story, I remember that it was necessary to invest a lot for Maria to go, and, things that I had never realised: that Maria was not dressed well, and that it was necessary to buy clothes for a child to be able to go. Suddenly I saw Maria with new clothes and, it was funny, as if it depended a bit on having clothes to go or not. I didn't even value clothes."

The video document that records this group's voyage to Belgium shows Maria's family, in the van to the airport, along with other families accompanying the children to say goodbye. In one of the moments of *"telling and showing"* Maria tells that she went for a walk to the park with her new Belgian friends and that their father let her take pictures with his camera. The following year, Maria and her younger brother accompanied their respective classes to the indoor camp in Portel.

peer friendships

Part of the memories are the reactivated memories of classmates, some of whom did not cross paths again later:

- "Memories I have of my friends, André, Tiago, and others" (Ricardo Azevedo).
- "Raquel, to whom I was closest to and Leonor" (Fernanda Queirós).

Ricardo Azevedo values above all the friendship he had with some colleagues, due to the support they gave him in relation to the colleague who hassled him at

playground[150]:

> "They defended me. They defended me. When he came to approach me, they defended me. And I feel very grateful to them. Very grateful".

Some contexts specifically related to the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* arise:

- "I remember the tents, being with friends, the adventures we had (laughter in the voice), many" (Ricardo Azevedo).
- "... and then we were flirting, I remember that, there was a space in the room, [where] we had a blanket, we covered ourselves, I remember that, but I think Pascal, you weren't there yet, by chance. Because when I was in Kindergarten... You only entered when I went to primary school..." (Fernanda Queirós).
- "I was from the Ajuda district until a year ago, I always lived in the same house, I was born and lived there, on *Travessa das Florinhas*, which is very close to the school. I have my friends, it's really funny because over the years, we've become less and less, and there's a group of four that we keep seeing each other frequently. We had an interregnum there, maybe there in adolescence, between 14 and 18 years old, but then we got back together: it's Martim, Milene, who is my oldest friend ever, I [am] a friend of hers, since we've been there for 3 years, and Irene Pires" (Jorge Carvalho).

Some of the iconographic documents record moments of occasional encounters. It evokes the school that was described as having a family environment[151] in which children see an exhibition at school together; they say goodbye with games and conversation, at the airport and at the entrance to the school; sitting on a gas bottle during a camp; or even on a picnic, during a field trip. During the meeting with the correspondents in Belgium, everyone sang happy birthday to Selma Belo, who celebrated her birthday on a day of study visit. In Moura's museum, some children embraced and observed the objects on display; in Alvito, they walk together to visit the village and the church.

Relations between who discovers

The environment in which the teaching and learning activities take place facilitates the discovery of the other, in a work context. Thus, some of the relationships that are established are based on these encounters that start out as work. The documents that accompany the international correspondence of the T3 class are the most evident in this respect. As Eva, from the correspondent group, says, in response to a question from the journalist "the most important moment is to really

[150] See page 176

[151] See above, *"The Family environment in a non-normal school".*

see each other"[152]. Selma Belo then explains how easy it is to understand each other: with a few words, with gestures, through games that are often very similar. And she ends by saying that if they don't understand each other, they start talking about something else.

In general, there is respect for the other and attention for what the other has to say. For example, the T3 class, in the 4th year of schooling, stops their work to listen to a story the kindergarten children invented and they come to show. After the educator reads the story, they ask questions and make suggestions. It is easy to see the satisfaction of the toddlers before the interest shown by the grown up.

This concern for the other is also visible in the documents that accompany the camps. There is time to listen to the other, to think about what to do. When two classes are going to a short horseback riding, they all patiently line up, wait for each other and watch each other. The relationship of well-being with each other is once again visible when there are clue games in which four or five children have to look for their way from one checkpoint to another on their own.

The *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* welcomes children with learning difficulties resulting from a disability and with cognitive delay. It also welcomes children who find it difficult to understand how the school works and therefore accumulate negative experiences with it.

Francisco Neto remembers:

> "At school, there were children... different. Different from us. This also marked me, not negatively but positively, we had disabled children there, others more or less, with many learning difficulties. And I remember an adult, perhaps a member of the family, asking, but do you have disabled people in your classroom and I remember helping them and having a certain pride in that, although we also did some pranks on them, which was normal, but I remember that afterwards, deep down, we had a feeling of protection, of wanting to help, that's another special thing."

Dora Agostinho agrees, when she remembers some children who had difficult experiences at home:

> "they were very different kids, but there was a lot of respect between them, so the fact that I was more concerned with the problems that were going on at home and that I transmitted everything to the classroom later, they had a lot of support from the group and there, it was basically a difference that blurred a lot when they got into discussion and when they got into support, even with those kids with learning difficulties, there was a lot of availability, basically

[152] This international correspondence occurs in 1990 with children of 8 and 9 years old at a time there were little school organised exchanges for work proposals.

> that's what you want, isn't it, from others to be able to help and support. And that was it, and we grew like that."

The work management in the T3 class makes the special education teacher, who supported some children of this group, to become a teacher available to everyone. Her presence facilitates the monitoring of work in groups or in pairs, opening up interaction between everyone, as can be seen in a photograph in which three children use her help.

However, Milene Afonso also remembers a more complicated social situation:

> "Many times we were not tolerant. And sometimes I think it came from adults, that is, at the level of teachers. They themselves probably had their prejudices, that is, prejudices against some people and I think that ended up, the distance I can recognise that ended up separating and distancing some people. I remember people in our class with whom practically no one spoke, like Roberto[153], and it was his mother and his family was one of those people who are knocking on doors, ... ***Me***: Jehovah's Witnesses? ***Milene***: Yes exactly, and for example, he didn't party euh... [birthdays] and so... Anyway, it's true maybe for us it didn't make much sense, but for his family it would. And I don't think we would accept that. For example, he never went to one of our camps, maybe for that reason, maybe for other reasons, but, that is, I feel that in some moments there were decisive moments of differentiation between people. And I don't think that's positive.
>
> (...) It were my classmates, the kids, too, who ... It is a criticism, but I think that sometimes it happened."

Living in a group does not make it equal. Ricardo Azevedo spoke of the most complicated relationships caused by a colleague with relationship difficulties and who pursued him at playground, because he was also different from the others. The difference is openly visible to all, it is talked about in certain circumstances and perhaps not enough in others, and these differences also provoke disagreements.

Even when it comes to establishing a rule that allows everyone to use the playground, where those who want to play football try to impose themselves on others. There consensus is not possible, which:

> "it may mean that they are not so flexible, but on the other hand it may mean that they are, that they were very alert to defend their interests and their ideas, isn't it, and this also depends a little on the situation itself, ..." (Dora Agostinho).

[153] Fictitious name .

Work relations

I grouped here the information about work relationships based on four keywords: "*cooperation*" *"teacher imitation" "relationship with teacher" "cooperative work"*. In a first point, I analyse the work relation, more specifically between children and adults, and then, in a second point, I focus more on cooperation itself in work relations.

A work relation devoid of bureaucratic hierarchy

In general, the relations between students and teachers seem to contribute to the memory of "convivial" or "family like environment". Not much is said about the teachers who spent less time at Voz do Operário da Ajuda. Carla Garcia talks about a teacher who drew well and that's why she remembers her:

> "I started to have a special relationship with her... in fact, in a privileged way, because she was very good at drawing, we did things very connected to creativity, I don't know, the memories I have more, it's more of Julieta, of things that we did later with Julieta, but the [first teacher] made a big impression on me in the relationship that I know she didn't have with (...) other children. She came to make drawings for me, in his notebook, with a certain... it seems that she was drawn to my drawing side."

Milene Afonso, who already referred to the same teacher in relation to the punishment for boys who groped girls, still remembers:

> "... the relationship I had with the teacher was very good although not as close to what I had later with Julieta, for example, was different."

She continues, stating:

> "Julieta had a completely different way of being than [the first teacher who] was a bit there, inconstant, even in her relationship with us, and she was... (pause)... she was different. I don't know, I don't even know how to explain it to you very well."

Fernanda Queirós talks about her first teacher and says she felt that:

> "... I was put aside in some things, for example, in the creative part, painting, I was never valued. I always felt that she valued the work of others, and mine was always undervalued. I was quite sad for this to happen; hmm, like being able to have one, one, we [posted] the paintings on the wall, and I remember one painting that was quite dark, and that had given a lot of me, I remember feeling that I had committed myself, and ... then showing up there and not being there."

However, Dora Agostinho remembers that her integration into the school had to go through the gradual conquest of the T4 class, because:

> "anything that was done inside the classroom was almost always calling the other teacher before (...) I decided to [start to] work more for the relations than for learning properly..."

In general, the relation between adults and children consists of getting involved in ongoing work projects, which focus on what wanting to achieve together. Each one intervenes based on their knowledge and questioning, without major concerns about assuming that the adult knows more about some subjects and that everyone, children and adults, are willing to seek information about what is not known. There are several moments filmed in which it is noticed that children approach adults not as students who relate to teachers, but simply as people who discuss a subject with each other. Thus, "*Pascal* ... " is asked to combine the work agenda, "*Lurdes* ... " to discuss a text and "*Oh, Dora...* " to intervene in the discussion around a math problem. The filmed work moments, as well in the T2 class, as in the T3 and T4 classes and in the T5 and T6 classes or the T7 class, reveal working and questioning environments together. The work in pairs is instituted in the classroom context. A request to finish an illustration of a text is shown according to the agreed work plan. An extended discussion appears, introducing questions from adults and children and suggestions from the supervisor of the work in progress, in the context of an investigation, using LOGO programming.

During an outing, related to the study of Lisbon carried out by the T5 and T6 classes, the teacher is with a small group of children to combine the tasks they have to do. Then the children conduct interviews while the teacher waits on the ground, in front of the Belém Tower, talking to one of the pupils.

The relationship between children and adults, involved together in a work project, is also observed during council meetings in which the adult person, like the children, asks the chairman permission to speak. Situations of obedience to an installed hierarchical power are avoided. The teachers themselves try to show how to avoid it, in the case of a discussion of advice that can turn into a blind application of an established rule. On the other hand, children call the adult to attention when they consider that the latter is behaving ambiguously or unclearly with the group. Julieta Lopes remembers a situation in which they made her reflect on a criticism of hers that was poorly received and misinterpreted by the children, for which they manifested:

> "Because there were — kids are all different, isn't it — and there were kids that we could hit on and others that we couldn't hit on, due to their sensitivity and ... I just thought they realised that and they didn't realise it.

However, it is also Julieta who states, when talking about the organisation of project work:

> "It goes without saying that I have always manoeuvred the children. And I never had a problem saying it. It is evident that I said things like 'oh man, this is connected, it could be a very cool thing to do, we could develop I don't
>
> know how much'. And then from there they considered themselves invited."

A very specific relationship is that of Francisco Neto with the teachers of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. As he says:

> "My career at VOA doesn't end in '88. I returned to VO of Ajuda, when I started teaching. I finished the course and right in the first year of service I got a first grade, that sensitive year, isn't it, when we have the parents all looking at us, seeing if the children are going to learn to read and write or no. And that's it, new as it was for me, isn't it, and with all my normal insecurities and ideas, isn't it, about how I wanted to work, because at the higher education school I was able to resume a lot of work at *Voz do Operário*, in the sense of understanding why it is that my school was like that or not, and the advantages of this type of organisation, and then I wanted to continue what I learned at the higher education school, in initial training, but it's complicated, isn't it, because once it's put into practice, it's serious, we have all the parents, the anxiety of the family, and so, where did I go to hold on? To the Voz do Operário da Ajuda."

Working in cooperation

As already mentioned above, the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda school* presents itself as a school open to children who, at the time, encountered resistance from other establishments when enrolling. It refers to this opening in the brochure *"Our School"*.
As we have just seen, Milene Afonso, critical of some situations she considers did not go well, describes, on the other hand, what cooperation in the work with those who become part of the group could consisted of:

> "We had people with, eh, with difficulties, with trisomy 21, [...] in our class, who needed [help], among other classmates as well. I also sometimes had difficulties and therefore, I asked someone who knew how to do a certain task, a certain card I knew that person had already done and that he had done it well, and as I didn't understand, I asked that person for help, therefore, we also helped each other mutually, it wasn't just necessarily the people who had some cognitive deficit or something like that, not necessarily.
>
> I remember working with H. for a long time, mainly because I liked it, in short, because I got along well with her and spent a lot of time with her and she also sought me out a lot, especially for mathematics, especially for math worksheets, and therefore this, this mutual help, this sense of cooperation, was fundamental, it was encouraged, and it was praised. (...) And I think that is very, very, very positive. Anyway, it's one of the good, great positive memories I have."

Interhelp is evident in many of the documents in the archiive that I consulted. The already mentioned follow-up of Tomás in his conquest of writing is an example of this. Valuing the publication of one's own production implies cooperation between children and adults for regular editions of class newspapers or school newspapers. I found examples of the first, still printed with the school press, as well as a school newspaper, richly illustrated, but already reproduced using the photocopier.

As the previous pages made clear, the relations between people are evident around work projects, reported in albums of three types. There are projects done by partial groups, such as *"An earth was born"* or *"the wolves"* but they can evolve towards class projects, such as the work on Lisbon and the camp projects.

The relations between people around the creation of works is also richly illustrated by stories of mutual help and friendship such as *"Juliana e the Seagull"*[154] and political stories, *"A 25th of April ... happened in the world of plants"*, *"We don't want Chief Carabão" , "And the carnations fell free"*, *"It was possible to dream the impossible"* and *"A 25th of April (with robots)"* are examples of. These stories have in common that each of them simultaneously represents a reflection on power in democratic and non-democratic contexts.

Cooperation at work is also evident in the recording of interviews, prepared together by adults and children, such as in *"Summary of what Álvaro Cunhal told us", "We asked... some adults answered"* and *"We had visits"*.

Many of the filmed documents show evidence of the relations between all of the members of the school or class community, due to their cooperative work. It can be seen in the presentation of theaters to correspondents, in work groups in camps and in the work before and after in the classroom, in situations of more curricular school work such as the analysis of problems or learning the language, in the support for peers among adults and children including in the school kitchen and in work situations chosen individually, but accompanied by a colleague or an adult.

Finally, it should be noted that cooperative work was also applied among teachers. Clarisse Rosa talks a lot about this aspect. Repeating the fragment used at page 119:

> "... we worked with open doors, and each one entered the other's room, without any embarrassment, and without causing any problems and that for me was therefore something [important]. Guida would say: "Why do you do it like that?", and I never saw it as [an obstacle], I always felt it as a possibility to grow, it's not. And little by little this started to reverse, I mean, it wasn't because I was younger, that I also inhibited myself from saying a few things to Guida, and asking her questions, and I was never afraid of that, I mean, I never felt that she put a barrier on me from the point of view of who knows

[154] See page 231.

more, and who is there to teach and who is there to... I never felt that."

Working in cooperation meant that there was a great deal of pedagogical involvement, to the detriment of bureaucratic issues. There were even some more cartoonish episodes, such as the systematic "the mice gnawed the book" also remembered by Clarisse Rosa:

> "... I think we got together formally, I don't remember now, but I think it was once a week. In fact, what was very interesting, was how everything was centred on the pedagogical work with the students, isn't it, so what we were dealing with was not many papers (laughs) as it is today, in fact they didn't exist, we didn't have papers to fill out. So the only thing we had to do was the minutes, which we even often forgot, and at the end of the year it was always "the mice that had gnawed the book", the book of minutes (laughs).
>
> So this happened many times. It was a bit of an excuse, we even forgot to take the minutes, because we got so involved in the work and in the discussion about the work, [between] teachers: it was me, Guida, Maria Júlia and Lurdes Caldas. ***Me:*** Was it Lurdes Caldas at the time? There was a time when you had Julieta as colleague, then there was a time when Lurdes Caldas was there, which is when Guida left. ***Clarisse:*** Exactly, so it wasn't with this group. So, with this group, it was me, Julieta, Guida and Maria Júlia. They were all people who gave a lot and had an immense availability for the school, and we discussed a lot about all these things".

It is also Clarisse Rosa mentioning the added value of having an intern from the *Instituto Superior de Psicologia Aplicada* accompanying her and being actively involved in the classroom (Faria, 1989). She considers it was very important to have, at that time, special education teachers from public schools a few hours a week in the classroom. These worked in partnership with the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* team, as the school actively integrated children with cognitive delay, as well as children supported by *Casa da Praia*[155], in the regular curricular work. Thinking about partnerships, in an indiscriminate way, among children, between adults and children and among adults, she ends by stating:

> "I think that, looking back, I think maybe we could even value the issues of partnerships [peer work] much more in those moments. Maybe at the time there wasn't much talk, or when they happened, they happened more spontaneously. It was the kids who proposed, they finished the work faster; or I would say: "look, help your colleague over there," or I don't know what.

[155] This Institution created by the psychiater João Dos Santos had an agreement with the school of Ajuda for many years, including the years of the case study, having children with communication and relation difficulties enrolled in the school.

> But maybe it wasn't [disclosed], there wasn't much talk about it and therefore, maybe I didn't take much advantage of it, right."

However, it seems quite evident that in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* there have long been established relations between people based on cooperative work. These relations around work projects were not limited to the adult employees of the institution and the children who attended school there. As the information about the camps already indicated, the work projects often involved the entire school community. I propose to focus on this wider community, in the last point of this part, dedicated to relations between people.

The school community

I look at the school community with two glances. One, from the children's point of view, using some information grouped under the keywords *"first day"* and *"no homework".* The other, from the point of view of adults, based on the memories of those who were children or adults during the period studied, from which I systematised the information around the keywords *"teacher (relation)" "teachers" "relations with assistants" "relations between parents" "relationship with parents"* and *"being a person".*

From home to school, from school to home.

The schoolwork is... the work at school. It seems to be one of those obvious realities, although it is not completely that way. Students work with teachers at school; children work with adults whenever a work project motivates them to work together. There is some evidence of work sessions with parents present at the school during school hours. A mother comes to speak about her profession as a physician. I myself appear, as a father, in the T7 class, to work to explore my enthusiasm about mathematics with the classmates of my daughter. There are visits by some politicians and some writers.
There is, on the other hand, a lot of evidence of parental participation around projects inside and outside the classroom. This is the case for visits to correspondents or meetings with correspondents in places outside the school. Parents are always involved in visits and camps and appear as active participants in the work around these projects.
Few interviewees speak about the first day coming from home to school. Memories are associated with some embarrassment. Diogo Garcia and Carla Garcia remember clashes with two colleagues, right on the first day. Milene Afonso remembers crying a lot when she moved from the kindergarten where her mother worked to *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. Meeting Judite, with whom she had been on vacation, when her parents went to help to prepare for the start of the school year, was very important:

> "I have my first memory of my first day of school. I cried a lot, and I didn't

> want my mother to leave, and I remember that Judite, whom I had seen, ... my parents made a point of going there with me and my brother to school [during summer] before classes started, I remember that Judite was there on vacation, or just before classes started..."

Irene Pires mentions some embarrassment when incorporating this new space into her daily experiences:

> "I remember the first day of school, being super embarrassed, [me] behind the, the classroom doors and not wanting to talk to anyone, because I had never seen so much, I had never seen those kids, or I shouldn't have seen them all, and my father playing with me and trying to talk to people and me putting my finger in my mouth, which was a gesture when I was ashamed. I remember this first day feeling so embarrassed, but I remember afterwards that I felt very much at home..."

The way the school presents itself, as a space for relations, helps children to quickly feel at home. It becomes a relation with the other home what for Irene Pires is even more visible because, as she remembers:

> "It was my grandmother who sewed the curtains in two of the rooms that faced the street. So some were orange and others were pink or blue and for years, I would look, when I came along the *Calçada da Ajuda*, and I would look at those curtains and I would have this feeling of "*look, this was made by my grandmother*".

Raul Bento also remembers his arrival in the room:

> "I think I even remember... the first day of school. In a smaller room, hmm, and I remember the time, I remember some colleagues, namely Raq..., yes Raquel. I think this is the first image I have of VOA, so chronologically."

Milene Neves tells how excited she and her classmates were with the idea of, in the fourth year of schooling, being confronted with homework for the first time, when her teacher introduced the acronym TPC[156] for the first time. There is a record making to understand another fourth year also has some homework routine.
There are two testimonies in reverse, categorical:

- "Hmm... I remember we didn't have homework (laughs)" (Raul Bento).
- "I remember people [from the neighbourhood] talking about it and I said *'look, I don't have homework'* and they got really jealous (laughs).
  '*And how come you don't have homework? Now I have homework*'. And I didn't know what and was, like *'look, I don't have, I don't have homework*', I know, I

[156] Trabalho Para Casa (Work to Take Home)

remember us talking on the street" (Francisco Neto).

With adults and among adults

The natural relation between adults and children rather than between people with the job of teacher and people with the job of student is well illustrated at lunchtime. Sitting at the table, eating together with the children, the adults talk with them or among themselves. They circulate, talk, help where necessary. It is the extension of the interactions that are observed in moments of cooperation at work, but also of conversations together, such as when presenting the camp, where Julieta Lopes mentions that there will always be four people accompanying the work teams, so Tomás Duarte replies: "Four people? And aren't we people?" provoking a laugh among children and adults present.

Francisco Neto says that

> "I was aware that the relationship with the teacher was not the same, she was really listening to others. (...) I heard the stories of others, telling that the teacher punished them, or hit them or whatever, although it was the 1980s, *after* the 25th of April, I heard many stories of violence, street kids seeming to be even physically punished by teachers, and that's it, and then there was the one about *"the dumbest"*, *"the smartest"*, that question, they would have, and then listen to what they said, right, some were from the same class, and I also remember — I had this curiosity, because like me, maybe it was more on my part, I don't know, but on my part, I tried to read in others what other people's school would be like, isn't it — I was sensitive to the stories they told about their school, and whenever they told the stories, I thought it was good that I'm in the *Voz do Operário*, I thought, really, I'm lucky, isn't it."

Sheila Castro, with previous experience at another Voz do Operário school, says:

> "The first big impact I have, where I come from and where I'm going to, is that... I had come from... two years in which my teacher simply did not communicate with me, and then we decided to repeat the year. I had moved on to the fifth grade, but after talking to my father, I decided to repeat the fourth grade, because I didn't know how to read or write."

She goes on to talk about coming to *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, through a friend, and then says:

> "There was a lot, a lot that was left to our discretion. So, I think that... that allowed us to choose and see what we liked best and I think that this made us realise what we liked best, what, together, was more desirable, or not, and therefore, it was always possible for you to lead us, as a group, to what we liked best, and try to transform things in a more pleasant way because, well, you always had access to our schedules, and you always understood what we

liked best to do, and therefore, there was always a coherence in doing what we wanted...

Not very different from other school memories, the figure of the 1st cycle teacher is present, due to the proximity, typical of the school organisation of this cycle:

- "I got along well with the adults, with Dora, with Julieta, with you, with the music teacher and the gym teacher." (Ricardo Azevedo).
- "Hm, there are things that I no longer remember, but, marked, marked, marked, I stayed for Julieta, because Julieta accompanied me from the first to the fourth year, and since we have a certain memory and our personality, Julieta is that she had the most with us. So I was always very influenced and always followed a lot, it was by Julieta." (Carla Gouveia).
- "I always had Julieta, we didn't have Dora very often, I don't think so, I don't know. And I remember, right, Juliet." (Rita Silves).

The greater proximity between people at the workplace, described here, makes Carla Gouveia remember the farewell party for the after school time monitor:

> "I don't know [why I remember]. The proximity, I think, that we had with the teachers. For example, when Otília left, we threw her a surprise party, it was a song and everything, I remember something like that. I remember a great proximity, and we really liked the teachers, if I don't think it was a little unthinkable".

This proximity reminds Melissa Lousada:

> "And then it was funny, because I entered the first year at the age of five, I entered a few months earlier, and I remember that at the time this was not peaceful, with my mother, my mother did not want me to enter so early, but later Julieta and Cláudia wanted me to come in...".

The relations between adults and children around work projects is, in the case of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda,* well illustrated, as we have already noticed. We remember not only the joint planning of the work, but also explorations, such as the one around the concept of speed, worked together, and moments of well-being like at the bonfire of one of the camps.

Complicity, the result of working together, apparently influences the relations. When this becomes more functional and formal, it doesn't lack such good memories. Jorge Carvalho is very clear:

> "I remember Guida, I remember Clarisse, I think I had more, if I'm not mistaken, Clarisse was in the third and fourth year, and I remember Guida, maybe in the 2nd year. (...) And we had a teacher, who happened to be ... I remember, [who] unlike Guida and Clarisse, I didn't like very much, who was

> the after school time teacher. She was an older person, and I think she didn't like great freedom, she didn't. She liked having us in her hand, I use this expression, she didn't leave big gaps. It was like that a bit... but she was also short-lived. I don't remember the name."

Among adults, as we have already been told, there was a spirit of cooperation around work projects, which allows for discussion, in difficult and tense moments, such as the following, reported by Clarisse Rosa:

> "There were [some difficulties] in that camp [in Montachique], due to the fact that we were in that camp for a long time and we had to share everything, three classes, kids from the 2nd, 3rd and 4th years, with three different teachers, a minimum of conditions , because we only took one assistant and we were the ones who did everything. From the point of view of management [...], of being together, of meals, of schedules, of what we were going to do, of how we distributed ourselves, there were even very complicated moments. And therefore, I think there were even some, some conflicts between us teachers. I remember that there was even a conflict, because Julieta wanted to expel J., who was my student, from the camp, who had misbehaved; so we had a council with all the students, a general council of the camp to make the decision and I remember that Julieta and I had some difficulties there, because she was very radical in these things and as he had not complied with the rules that were established, she thought that — as it had been determined that anyone who did not comply with those rules could not stay there — as it was a camp relatively close to Lisbon, we had to comply with what had been decided. I thought that we had to give J. another chance, because being such a problematic kid, being the first time we were in that situation, I thought we had to give another chance and therefore this was very problematic in the council, and J . ended up staying.
>
> This is because he had caught a snake, and with the snake he had scared other kids. And then he did a horrible thing: he killed the snake, and he put the snake inside a, what a horror, inside a plastic bag and froze it, in the chest... ***me***: ... where was the food? ***Clarisse:*** Absolutely. And this was a horrible thing. And so the other day, Julieta [...] went to open the chest and therefore..."

The school had the support of at least four employees. Milene Afonso mentions that "everyone treated everyone in the second person" and that she remembers:

> "the assistants, the cook, several people who apparently could be less important at school, I remember these people. I remember Ana, I remember that she had two daughters, I remember Dona Augusta, I remember Dona Henriqueta."

The assistants and the cook were often actively involved in the work. The annual Magusto, with all its preparation and aftercare, involves everyone, as we can see in some photographs and filmed documents. Successive van drivers also participated many times, in addition to their function as a driver. On one of videotapes of an outing for the Lisbon project, the driver is helping a child with the shoelaces. It is the same driver who a few years earlier had accompanied the T2 class group to Alentejo, meeting the correspondents, then also involved in the work.

Judite Pinheiro remembers the waiting times in the kitchen and one of the employees talking about the mice that lived in the old baseboards of some classrooms:

> "I spent a lot of time there because my parents took a long time, they only managed to pick me up at seven in the afternoon, and I spent a lot of time with Dona Henriqueta, and with Dona Augusta, they were the last ones to leave. So soon, we started to see the mice, or to speak about anything that interested us. But they were very friendly, they were impeccable, I remember that they treated us with great affection."

Selma Belo, who was going home by van, remembers the employee who accompanied the children going home with the van:

> "... With glasses, short, she was... she accompanied the van, the house... [...]! Exactly. I remember her very well. I remember the figure, I remember that she was very disciplined. I remember she had to keep order, and she would snap every now and then, that's the idea I had of her, but she was a good person."

The relation with parents is a strong aspect at the Ajuda school, influencing the general direction of the Society of A Voz do Operário. The facilities always gave a lot of headaches, as Dora Agostinho remembers, since she started working there:

> "And at that time there was a huge situation of [need for intervention] as the facilities are not new,... they were adapted, they were not made from scratch for the school, there were many situations in which improvements were needed. Precisely because the parents felt integrated into the school, they were also the ones who helped us to put the school in better working order. And for that, you counted on people who were at school, people, parents, family members, who came to do workdays and with the kids and without them too, in an attempt to improve."

The teachers refer to the way in which parents have constantly supported the team for the physical safeguard of the school, whenever the institution has little availability for maintenance works:

> "[...] so there was a lot of experience on that side of affection and involvement and... the very physical structure of the school helped to make it that way, but all the work that was done I think it went beyond that a lot, right, that great

part-by-part involvement" (Clarisse Rosa).

Julieta Lopes confirms this reading. She remembers:

> "the parents already knew, the parents said "*Oh Julieta, I already know that Julieta doesn't like parents, but...*" and then they would say something to me. ***Me:*** But what did they do there? Was it to help? ***Julieta:*** They helped a lot, they participated a lot, at least in the first years, painting the school... everything. And then there was an exceptional association of parents, because the school was at risk of closing, because there was a lack of kids, and the parents mobilised. The institution closed the Estrela-school, and would later also close Ajuda-school, and it was supposed to stay with the Graça-school and the parents wouldn't let [this happen]. Therefore, they organised themselves in movement and then in association and the school did not close. They painted the school, had parties, a lot of, loads of things, really. It was four years of hard work with that parent association."

Julieta Lopes touches on a sensitive point here regarding the relationship between *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* and the headquarters of the institution in Graça. In its public statement, in the Voz do Operário newspaper, the school is presented as innovative. In practice, there was always, and continues to be, the risk of the school closing, due to the high maintenance costs of a building that is not owned by the Institution.

The school maintains a close relation with parents for other reasons as well. Dora Agostinho mentions, in this regard:

> "For now, the school is very open in relation to parents, because we have always considered, [that's what] I realised since I entered, what I felt at school, and what I continue to feel, is that the relation between parents and the school, it's a very open relationship, you can..., you can count on it, you can understand that both the school and the parents work, they function according to the growth and learning of the kids, and there was never that separation of parents here. the boys, the school takes care of them while they are, and when they go home, they are the parents."

There are dozens of photographs, especially in the 1989-1990, 1990-1991, 1992-1993 and 1993-1994 school year series that illustrate the strong relations between parents, children and adults at the school. These are situations of project presentations, but also requests from parents to participate in joint projects. Milene Neves claims to remember:

> "My parents going to talk to school, to explain things, which also arose from the questions we started asking, and I remember them going to school, to talk about how babies were made, and this was right in first grade (*with a*

voice of admiration) or in pre-primary, I don't know."

Several videos show involvement in the camps, as is the case with the parents of Tomás Duarte and Milene Afonso, among others, linked to the parents' association Julieta Lopes talks about. The videos also show how fathers or mothers were facilitators in organising interviews with people at school, such as for the aforementioned visit by Álvaro Cunhal or another, by Dias Lourenço, for the organisation of the Magusto, or even for participation in *workshops* organised for fathers and mothers.

The visit to the Belgian correspondents, from the T3 class, very actively involved several parents who accompanied the group, as well as others who provided logistical support when the Belgian correspondents made the counter visit. Melissa Lousada remembers how I participated, as a father, in a math *workshop* and in *a camp:*

> "... and then we had Pascal, who gave us research in mathematics for a year, (...) I also remember having that point, I think that research in mathematics was on Tuesday and it was a very high time, we were very excited, because we knew things and we talked about Pythagoras and then in the camp we saw, we had there to observe the stars."

Rita Silves refers to this, when addressing the difficulty manifested by classmates in the fifth year in understanding the concept of the unknown:

> "...so they thought that in all the other exercises, the x was always 3.
> I remember finding it absurd, they finding that, because it reminded me of those multiplication tables, of Pascal, who had the x and the y stuck in the middle of the 4 and the 5 or something else, and the five stopped being a 5 to be something else, and I remember I remember that the 5th grade teacher said that I could understand that, because when I was younger they had opened my mind a lot and that I had a very open mind and I remember that."

The relationship with parents also involves offering small objects and knowledge. Jorge Carvalho says:

> "I had the privilege, that my mother worked in Mozambique, and I, on vacation, in 3rd and 4th grade, on vacation I went to Mozambique, which was exciting!, huge, for me and for everyone, to tell the stories. I remember that I brought some paintings, some paints, that stayed, that's why I remember the painting well, that I left there, some paints, like powders, that I brought from Mozambique, what they were, that the kids did there, and that I brought here for, for us to do the same."

Thus, there were also those who made themselves available to talk to a group about wolves or to help "make real wine". The relationship established between the school

community, leads to get-togethers that start at the Magusto, go through the work together in the last days of the camps, usually on Saturdays, which originate the organisation of other camps, in times of vacation, in which the teachers also participated as guests, which makes Vítor Abreu observe:

> "I think there was less division between learning and living, in a way, if that makes any sense, because we were also learning when we were away for the weekend, all together, in Alentejo, watching the menhirs, or... I remember this weekend, when we went to Alentejo."

I tried to understand in the first segment of this part how instruments that distribute power are remembered and described. In the second segment, I tried to understand how the main instrument that allows the regulation of power relations, group organisation and work organisation is perceived. In the third segment, I explored the memories that evoke the relations between people, realising how the exploration of knowledge interferes with the exercise of power. In the last segment, I address other evidence of the relations with power.

Relations towards power

The questions

How does the documentary collection present the relationship with power? What relation and what power is it about?

Julieta Lopes talks about the willingness to learn and the self-discipline visible among children when they get involved in projects and the work that comes with it, and mentions that success depends on how power is distributed. Some information allows a better understanding of the work and learning instruments made available in the groups by the teachers and that make it possible for the council of educational cooperation, as currently defined within the MEM, to make management in direct democracy possible.

Emancipating authority?

In addition to all the documents presented in the previous pages, I found others that show the involvement of everyone's knowledge in the construction of real cultural works. There are documents that are repositories of moments of writing by the T6 class, based on everything they have to tell. The writing that allows everyone to inscribe themselves in history is soon put at the service of children, who appropriate it at every moment. This first repository is completed by invented stories like the one that the kindergarten children came to present to their classmates in the 4th grade.

All instruments that confer information, and therefore power, leading to authority,

within the group where this information is used have already been mentioned. Reference was also made to the set of projects that the archive of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* includes, many of which convey opinions, discussions and conclusions of those who produced the works, when they were between 4 and 10 years old. The organisation of these documents confers authority of argument and power of intervention.

Among the many video-graphic documents that have already been mentioned in the previous segments, there are others that show once again the concern to share knowledge so as to share power within the space-time limits in which the group operates. Thus, we realise that what was agreed between teachers about one of the aspects of the meeting between the corresponding classes is communicated to the students for approval. In all contexts of discussion the asking to speak is always directed to day responsible or the president of the council. The authority to evaluate the compliance or not of the law is in hands of the collective regulated in council, as well as the cooperative accounts. It is something different to apply a curriculum or to have a discussion about how to finish a collective or individual work relating it afterwards with the formal curriculum.

Can we speak here about building authority, as a relation with the power that emancipates?

Learners connect to knowledge

Throughout the document collection and the testimonies of the interviewees it is possible to see the interacting with knowledge, because the whole community relates to the world. There is a preponderant set of testimonies showing the relationship with the outside world as a key element for the appropriation of the world and the possibility of intervening in it. I remember that when I use the Portuguese term 'relacionação' for relation to knowledge, I do it in the sense of connection and interaction, in an attempt to approach the meaning that Bernard Charlot (1997, p. 93) proposes. The author chooses, among three variants, the definition "*the relation with knowledge-science is the relation with the world, with the other and with oneself of a subject who is confronted with the need to learn*" which is why the author says he prefers the term "*rapport*" rather than "*relation*"[157]. In fact, the relation here implies a continuous act of interaction with the world and the other. This interaction implies learning that goes through the successive adaptations of connection with knowledge.

Once more I have divided this subchapter into 4 parts. I first look at the interaction

[157]Translated from French. I chose to give the term "rapport au" the equivalent of "connection and interaction" to distinguish it from the translation "relation" for the French "relation" .

with the world and with the other with "*Taking ownership of 'out there', working inside and outside"* and "*Studies and projects to learn more*" using for the first segment the information about the whole work done outside of school or from school outings. The second segment focuses on the information made available around the work projects and the products that come from them. In "*The social use of knowing how to read and write*" and "*The learner and the connection with knowledge*" I analyse information related to reported learning processes, writing and reading that involve interaction with others and with oneself, as well as the kind of relation to knowledge in the context of the classroom prepared by the adult as mediator of this same relation between knowledge and learners.

Taking ownership of 'out there', working inside and outside

The questions

In the school shape of social relations of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* there are basically two activities that allow the appropriation of the environment, its perception and the intervention that becomes possible in it: the "tradition" of organising camps, alternating with work outings and — sometimes concurrently, sometimes in partial replacement — the interschool correspondence involving encounters and exchanges.

The questions I asked myself when reading the testimonies and texts and watching the videos were: what statements do former students and professors make about the appropriation of the medium? How does this appropriation interconnect with knowledge? What is the role of interschool correspondence? What is the significance of the camp weeks?

The keywords that emerge from the collection and that guide this first point are: "*encampment"; "Way home from school" "dog" "construct social reality" "correspondents" "exits".*

Known and unknown others

The documentary collection testifies at various times to the attention given to the recent history of Portugal. As an example, I refer to a filmed document from 1995, where we see Julieta Lopes hosting for all classes of the school an exhibition about the first republic and the period of the *Estado Novo*, identified as the fascist period. With one of the classes, she announces this conversation as a dialogue about history. Immediately, one of the children says it's about the 25th of April. Julieta replies that there is not much to say about the 25th of April, because they already know what happened on that day, they have already discussed it. She suggests going back to 1910 and presents the implantation of the republic as "*a kind of April 25th*". She

explains that before that, there was the government of kings. People could decide nothing and kings decided everything, without people being able to choose who would govern them: The son of the king succeeded the king, whether he was good or silly, it had to be because he was the son of the king". She says the first republic appeared "which was very good" which created schools for everyone, for example. She claims that since it was a government of the people and people did not understand each other, almost every week a government fell... which led to "a coup d'état, on May 28, 1926, which gave rise to fascism". She explains the exhibition starts from that point.
This specific look at recent history, which, in addition to appearing in exhibitions, also appears in some musical evocations and in albums resulting from work projects, contributed to build up a specific look at reality. Milene Afonso[158] formulates it as follows:

> "Because I think we have several components and the person I am today was greatly influenced by what I experienced at that time, too. But it wasn't just that, our parents, most of them, chose that school, and they didn't choose it by chance, probably...".

I remember that this idea, that many parents chose the school for its educational project, was also formulated by Jorge Carvalho[159].
The look that was built on the *close* and the *farther* interferes with work at school and work at school interferes with this look. These are small, very simple deeds that sometimes involve action. I present here a handful of situations, on the outskirts of the school, with the correspondents and in the camps.

The already known "others" around school

Appropriating the path to school is, for those who live in the neighbourhood, close to the school, a different kind of learning of that which is done by those who have to be transported by the van. Tomás Prata reports this achievement:

> "Yes, I came with my brother. It came hand in hand with [name], always on the street. Exactly, we were going up the street. It's like, if I remember correctly, I didn't remember of course, this was many years ago, my father also passed away, (...) it's not possible, you can't say that it's a strong memory, but I remember we did half the way, for a while, when he would take us halfway, and leave us down there, on the tram street, [...] and we just had to go up the street, along the sidewalk, always. The school is on the right side, we always went that way on the right side, until we reached the school.
> Then it started to go further back, because we had to cross, I think there were

[158] Class T5, between 1990 and 1995.

[159] See page 80 .

> two or three streets. Until he left us start at home: [...] he would leave us at the door [...], and I would start from there with [name]."

In addition to this first interaction with the environment, achieved by walking without adults from home to school and from school back home and, as already seen before, sometimes traveling between school and gym, there were times when groups made the journey without any adults, only accompanied by the team during the day, equal among peers, but with established authority as being the day team. As summarised by Irene Pires: "we went to the gym outside the school, but we also did a series of activities ...". One of the successful actions with the close environment was even with the school's neighbour. She had a dog at the door. Ricardo Azevedo comments:

> "I remember the dog. Does this dog still exist? ***Me***: I don't know. Was he inside the school? ***Ricardo***: No, he was in a kennel, next to the door. A little further to the side. [...] when I went in there, the dog started to bark."

The kennel did not appear by chance. Julieta Lopes describes the episode:

> "There was a very funny thing, there was a little dog there at the patio, which arrived there, tiny, with a little chain, it had a tiny house, the animal grew and continued with the same house, and continued with the same chain. So we organised ourselves, we spoke with people from the animal protection league. They went there to talk to the owner. We bought her a bigger kennel, and, as the chain was also much bigger, the dog ran in a part of our school. It was difficult, because the lady [first] didn't want to accept our offer. But [after] that [...] it was a joy, when the kids went out, because the kennel was right next to the school door, and the kids went out and the dog had a big kennel. We couldn't get her so far to let him go free, he stayed stuck, but that's it."

It wasn't just for neighbours. Selma Belo talks about going out on field work:

> "Certainly yes, to go where? I can't remember, but I'm sure there was. I'm sure there was. But I can't remember.

The testimonies regarding going out to the surroundings of the school suggest that these were frequent. The T3 group observes the streets of the neighbourhood and goes up the Calçada to the Palácio da Ajuda, to visit an exhibition of scarves and quilts made of chintz from Alcobaça. The T6 class visits the Tropical Garden from time to time, which is at walking distance from school. The visits serve to explore the garden. A photograph shows children crossing, in single file, one of the small lakes, jumping from stone to stone. Another make understand that one of the boys in the class is trying to cross an open space, hanging from a branch of a tree leaning over the same space without vegetation.

Closer by, even on the other side of the Calçada, the Botanical Garden was much

visited by some classes. Milene Neves comments:

> "The idea I have, is that we went every week to the botanical garden in Ajuda (laughs). It was almost like an extension of our recess. We knew every tree, every nook and cranny...".

The T7 class also had the habit of ending the week at the Ajuda botanical garden. "That was at least our joy ", recalls Carla Gouveia.

In a film-report of the class, we see the group accompanied by Julieta Lopes. She returns incomplete works, stapled to the individual work plan, to the respective authors, with some indications of what needs to be done. Those who have their work done, reminds Melissa Lousada, could explore the garden:

> "Whoever fulfilled the individual work plan, went to the botanical garden on Friday afternoon, and we stayed there the rest of the afternoon, and it was really fun, there were slides, there were other things, there were mysteries."

The others look for benches that they use as side tables, to finish the work at hand. Juliet herself remembers these moments as follows:

> "Whoever didn't finish their [personal working] plan would end up in the garden. Whoever had things to correct, because normally they had to deliver everything by Thursday [...] for me to see at home and then there was anything to correct, it would be on Friday. Anyone who had things to correct would also correct in the botanical garden. And as they were dispatched, the afternoon was theirs. And they never did without [...] Friday, which was very rich. I think there are videos about it that they're really working on. They're working, but they're..., they're correcting, they're finishing, but it's in the garden."

An invitation from the music teacher to see, in May 1992, the theater piece[160] for which he composed the songs, was another occasion to go out. The album made by the T6 class, has the theater poster as its cover, while the collective recount goes like this:

> "*Ricardo, restless and smart, is sent to his room because he is scaring everyone.*
> *In the bedroom, everything changes and he begins a journey: he crosses a forest, ventures into the deep sea and faces the greatest dangers.*
> *He arrives in the land of wild things where he meets and dominates three monsters that inhabit it. He becomes king and can command everything. But:*
> *It's forbidden to forbid!!*
> *The king decrees a wild party.*
> *Suddenly, a smell of soup coming from all sides makes him miss it and he returns*

[160] Based on a book of Sendak. See page 94.

to the room just in time to eat the hot soup.
(Tiago tasted it: the soup was really good!)".

A short, illustrated review follows:

I liked the monsters because they were dancing (George).
I liked the monsters because they were cute (Rita).
I liked the sea part when the dragon tried to steal the kid (John Paul).
I liked Ricardo at the end, because he gave me a little soup, and I really liked the monsters because they were coloured (Tiago).
I liked the monsters because they were cute (Unnamed).
I liked the sleeping monster part the most (Andre).
I really liked the part of the party because they were very good and I also liked the sea because the giant was there (Catherine).
I liked the big party and they danced (Fernando).
I liked the party part. They were bucking and dancing (Inês).
I liked the break-in party part because the monsters were so cute (Ana Sofia).
I liked the sea part because the dragon was trying to scare Ricardo and he couldn't (Vitor).
I liked the monsters in the forest (Antonio).

Another trip to the theatre, by another group, makes known a story that Julieta Lopes remembers: "I don't know who the characters were, by the way, I think they were puppets and then it was a boy who misplayed everything, poor thing, [...] ... it was Serafim and Serafina, it was Serafim and Serafina". When the group afterwards bought a couple of dwarf rabbits, they were named Serafim and Serafina.

However, the constant outings make everyone observe what is happening around the school: they find animals in the gardens, see the shops, monuments, people and stories around the school. Judite Pinheiro says that at this school it was: "nothing like that, that's it, theory and all, I remember that we like to do everything naturally, let 's see, and then study , that's what I remember."

There are even animal shops where successive classes were regular buyers: in addition to dwarf rabbits, parakeets and fish appear at the school, to join Sebastião and Belmira[161], the aforementioned cats. Observing the world around the school not only gives rise to studies, but also stories, which are invented and illustrated, such as this adventure in *"Juliana and the Talking Seagull: the story of a friendship"* by the T1 class in 1986:

"Once upon a time there was a happy turtle! Very young, she lived in freedom, on a river, very clean, very calm, very quiet. But one day, a very big hand caught her.

[161] See page 35

She was enclosed in such a tiny bottle that she could hardly turn your head. How bad she felt so tight! And she suffered a lot for several days. Until a boy saw her, took pity on her and bought her.

He put her in an aquarium and called her Juliana. That house was much better but she wasn't used to being trapped. But how to get out? It was weird: she could see everything but a very cold wall wouldn't let her out.

One day, she felt herself falling, she heard a noise, the water spread around her and a very large animal, with green eyes and long whiskers, was trying to bite her. Carefully, she made her way towards the door. How lucky! It was open! And she ran away.

But all she could see were feet about to step on her and very tall unknown things. What a scare of Juliana! Poor thing! She could already see herself dead, trampled on... She was so sad... so alone... Poor Juliana!

Suddenly she saw herself taller than those strange things she didn't know.

- How I've grown, she thought. She looked down but didn't see her paws. And what vertigo she felt... Then she realised that she was flying.

- But how? I don't have wings...

She slowly turned her little head upwards and saw big paws grabbing her and the shadow of huge wings.

- Will I fall?

But she didn't.

Time passed. The turtle continued to slide in a large blue and transparent lake.

- Is it the sea? But there are no fish... and down there? What odd little things I see. The bottom of the sea that I know is so different. And this thing that drives me? I do not notice anything.

But suddenly... what a surprise and what a fright... The thing carrying her said:

- I'm the talkative seagull.

- And me I am Juliana the turtle. And I'm scared. And very distressed. And then... I'm going to fall.

- You're not to be afraid, you're safe. You're lucky I found you. What were you doing, so little, among so many giants?

- Well? It's just that I was in such a small lake... And I missed my lake so much, so much, where I used to live, that I decided to run away. But look, I felt lost.

The day was beautiful! The sun was shining and warming! But Juliana was hungry. They went to the sea. There were plenty of fish there. And with the help of the seagull, Juliana filled her tummy. Then she stretched out her little paws to the sun, stretched out her little head and got ready to listen to the story of the talkative seagull that had decided to take a walk to the center of town.

- You know I am a naughty seagull? I had orders not to leave the foot of the sea,

but I wanted so much to know other things that I moved away from my companions, I flew, I flew, I flew... I saw more and more new things. Suddenly... I looked at the floor and saw such a tiny thing moving so slowly in the middle of all that confusion, that I went down to see what it was. And I understood your affliction. So I picked you up very carefully so as not to hurt you, protected you from heating too much with my wings... and here we are.

- And now, Juliana, what are you thinking of doing?

- I wanted to go back to my big endless lake, but how am I going to do it?

- For me this is very easy. I already disobeyed once; I can disobey again and this time for a good reason: to make you happy.

- And then I never see you again, talkative seagull?

- Of course, Juliana, we'll see each other often. As I am a naughty seagull, I will visit you whenever I want. Do you know? It's just that friendship is a very important thing. And even more so when the friendship is between different beings. Great! I seagull! You turtle! What a beautiful friendship!

(Made this story: João Miguel, Kikas, João Monteiro, Ana Sofia, Bárbara, Filipe, Julieta. João Pedro collaborated in the illustration. Julieta did not make drawings – 3rd year Voz do Operário 1986)".

Like many of the stories invented at this school, individually or collectively, this one also has milestones from the experience of children and adults: they want to go out, learn new things, they don't want to be trapped, they don't like the cold wall that separates from life outside the school. They assume some disobedience to the rules, to see and know the world and meanwhile make friends. Eight/nine year old children and their teacher tell stories based on their history. And they discover history, based on the history of the place where they have their school, as reported by Milene Afonso:

"There was a family friend, from my family, who was, who is a history teacher, who went there to tell some stories about our school, that is, about *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. We did some research and realised that *Voz do Operário* had been kind of old, in fact, that area there was a kind of neighbourhood for the people who worked at the Ajuda palace. In the time of kings. And our school, and all of that had traces, it was the stables, basically. So these things were funny, [see the story] with another perspective, ... there was a king, but, there was an implantation of the republic, because uh, they got fed up with the king, and for a defence of the... republic (laughter)"

Groups also make other forays into the area. Dora Agostinho testifies:

"I think it was important for them,[...] to go out into the streets to discover mathematics and then do a project about it. Because I think that many of

> them, as there are [many children] still today, had the idea that mathematics was useless."

Attentive to the places around the school, the learning community inside of it — that is, the children with their questions, the adults who listen and relate the questions to the prescribed curriculum, the children and adults with the projects they develop — goes out into the street and collects information. Among the 55 photographs that illustrate the departures near the school, there is a set of the Belém area. There small groups of children are talking to people who are close to the tower and the docks. The images are from the T5 and T6 classes and coincide with the time when they did an in-depth study of the city of Lisbon. Dora Agostinho recalls:

> "When we worked on Lisbon, we started here with the neighbourhood, this work was done together with Julieta, in which we worked on the neighbourhood and then extended to Lisbon in general."

The exits had precise but different objectives. The gathering of information determines the output. This is remembered by Milene Afonso, commenting:

> "... I vaguely remember study visits, we went to Quercus, we went to some places, various things in that sense [...] nature conservation, the importance of nature conservation, that, to talk about things like the ozone layer...".

Judite Pinheiro adds other frequent outings:

> "... to the school of Graça, of Voz do Operário, [...] possibly to be with the students there, I don't know, to meet the other students, I don't know, we often went to their classes, and, walking, walking ..."

These visits may have something to do with the organisation of the camp on Ilha da Berlenga, which took place with the corresponding group of Voz do Operário da Graça. However, there are other reports, of outings to exhibitions, namely during the celebrations of the carnation revolution, considered very important by the institution board, and at the time of the Lisbon festivities.

First close encounters with other "others".

The interschool correspondence associated with the exchange between classes is one work proposal, among many, inscribed in the pedagogical paradigm that sustains the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. It is described both in the institutional pedagogy and in the pedagogical proposal of the Movimento da Escola Moderna de Portugal. In *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* it is in the memory of the classes.
In class T1 there is not really an interschool correspondence. The class and the teacher took advantage of the fact that the teacher was away from the country for a year, in order, with the agreement of the person replacing her, to enter into

occasional correspondence, as Francisco Neto recalls: "Julieta corresponded with us".

Lisbon – Vera Cruz – Lisbon

There is more information about the T2 class, especially from the teacher, Clarisse Rosa. First, she remembers work project exchanges:

> "...I have a vague idea that I even exchanged ideas with Inácia, who was at Fernão Mendes Pinto [School], and who at the time was also working [like that]. I don't know if the exchange was also an exchange between students, or if it was just an exchange between me and her, I think that maybe it was more between me and her, the way we were working, because I remember that they, that I did ... I also started at the time ..."

Perhaps this is the school that Jorge Carvalho is referring to when he reports:

> "We had another school [...] Once a year, or twice a year, we would go to them. To the other school. I no longer remember where it was. I think it shouldn't be too far from Lisbon. And we, there we gathered and talked with others. Deep down it was a bit, it wasn't exchange, I think, I don't remember them coming to our school, but I remember us going to visit them two or three times. To the other school. I remember that there was a colleague of mine, a friend of mine, who was Daniel, who really liked a girl, a girl from the other school."

However, this class certainly corresponded with a class in Alentejo, as Milene Neves points out:

> "I don't remember... aaahh! I remember something, I remember us having, hum, an exchange with some kids from Alentejo, from, I don't know where, but it was from the interior. The only thing I remember is Magda, who was the one I stayed at, with Rita from the twins, I think, and I remember being very impressed, because she had never seen the sea. And I remember that she came to us. And I remember being blown away by that [look of the sea]... (pause)".

In fact, as Clarisse Rosa reminds: "the differences were enormous, and I think this exchange was important for the kids: we went to Alentejo and went to sleep at the correspondents' house." Staying overnight in the place where the correspondents live allows you to build a perspective on a reality that is new to most of the group. Clarisse Rosa continues:

> "I have memories of walking in the countryside, visiting 'montes'[162] where even poorer kids lived. [We spoke with] a family with a kid (...) we went to visit,

[162] Isolated latifundia, where rural workers occupied poor housing.

> who lived very isolated and who walked to school. We went to visit the kid on at the 'monte', I have this idea. After being at school, and walking around the village, with the people, and with the kids, I don't know what memories remained in the students, but for me there were some strong memories of those encounters."

The class had, in addition to the national correspondence, also an exchange of letters with a Dutch class, whose missives were displayed on one of the walls of the room, as can be seen in the pedagogical monograph I mentioned earlier. Under the heading *"The mail has arrived from the Netherlands"* there are photographs of flowers typical of the school's region, a Knorr carton of instant mashed potatoes, a sachet of "*boerenkool*" (a variant of savoy cabbage) and a carton of "*rookworst*" a type of smoked sausage, all three together, a typical Dutch meal according to the correspondents.

Lisbon – Leuven – Lisbon

The T3 class similarly reconciled national correspondence with international correspondence in its second year. While, in the first year, correspondence was only national, from the third year there was no longer any national correspondence, and international correspondence gained more and more importance.

The set of thirty photographs, which evoke the correspondence in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* are all of that class. There are images from the second year of work, both in the *Castle of São Jorge* and in the Moorish castle in Sintra, which perhaps explains Raul Bento's hesitation:

> "(pause) ... I remember. I remember a visit to the castle of São Jorge, but it wasn't with Pascal. Possibly it was with a first year. No, it wasn't the castle of São Jorge, it was the one in Sintra, the castle of the Moors."

Some of the photographs suggest a small theater, or an evocation in *tableaux vivants*, in which children recreate the invasion of Christians in the castle occupied by the Moors. With costumes that suggest a North African population and others that suggest the equipment of the soldiers of the Crusaders, we see the children in discussion and then simulating a fight, under the eyes of some mothers and the corresponding group. We can still see the group, now less belligerent, contemplating Lisbon from the platform in front of the castle of São Jorge, and at a picnic shared with the correspondents, in the castle of the Moors.

In 1990, the children in the class, then 8 years old, traveled to Leuven, Belgium, a visit I accompanied as class teacher, with three other adults; two fathers and a mother. The following year, they received their colleagues in Lisbon. These visites are the logical continuation of the exchange of letters, as Irene Querido mentions:

> "It wasn't just the voyage. I remember that it all started with correspondence,

but it used to be foreign correspondence, isn't it. We were "very fine" kids (laughs)."

Correspondence required some routines, which Tomás Prata talks about:

"I remember us writing the letters all together, in the classroom. And what we sent. And that we wrote in Portuguese, [...] and then you were the one to translate. And then it was shipped. I remember it perfectly."

There is a rich record of this exchange, both in the documentary collection and in the conversations with whom, as a child, he participated.

"Hmm ... I remember the trip to Belgium well," says Raul Bento. It is not the first memory that comes to his mind, unlike Tomás Prata. Everyone who was a student of this class remembers the voyage and the correspondents. Correspondence ranks ninth most remembered, while for the universe as a whole, it ranks seventeenth.

The correspondence album reports the entire process of organising the two trips, which were prepared and carried out with the full involvement of the children.

From this extensive document I extracted the following announcement:

The idea of correspondence

When we were in first class, we did correspondence with Belgium, but then it ended. Pascal came from Belgium to Portugal, and then he came to school for the group. And he had the idea of doing correspondence with the same school again, and we accepted; last time we put photographs, a cassette, texts, etc. in the box.

We want to go to Belgium but we're out of money. It's just for the trip as we stay at our correspondent's house.

(Signed: the names of all the people in the class).

Diogo Garcia states in this regard:

"I clearly remember how I told you, that story of having the correspondents, from Belgium, going there and they coming here, ... hmm ... what else? I remember that we were there to get money, for the voyage and all that."

The trip took place after asking parents about the possibility of letting their children accompany the group. To this end, there was a first letter, dated early February 1990:

Dear Parents,

At the beginning of this school year, I started an international interschool correspondence with my students. This type of contact with other realities in other countries seems fundamental to the critical development of students. At this moment of European integration, no one can doubt this.

The pedagogical movement to which I belong, like most of the teachers at this school, has therefore defended this way of opening the window to the world since

its creation in 1925. With the improvement of means of transport, trips to meet distant correspondents have been increasingly frequent. I myself already have experiences from several trips (national and international) with 4th grade children (9-10-11 years old).

Therefore, when I proposed correspondence with a class at the school where I taught – and which I helped to set up – in Belgium, I couldn't help but dream of the distant possibility of organising a contact voyage. But... the students are younger...

This weekend, I met a friend of mine, a kindergarten teacher who — with his class of 4 and 5 year olds — organised an international correspondence with a class in Bretagne, France. He told me how he [...] organised the trip to France, how the students stayed for a week with their individual correspondents, some accompanied by their father or mother. He obtained subsidies from various instances. The parents didn't pay anything, except [those] who [...] had to take a week off to accompany their child on this wonderful adventure.

We're getting to the point where I have to decide whether or not I'm going to start raising funds for the trip. The script is as follows: we find money for the trip of a group of approximately 25 people, accommodation being assured at the home of the individual correspondent: the corresponding class has 18 students, ours 17. Thus, the stay will only cost us the commitment to receive the Belgians if they come to Portugal.

But before investing seriously in this important aspect of the work that we are carrying out in this group — important, but in the eyes of some possibly, perhaps a little unusual, I would like to know if, in the event that we get funding for the trip, you will authorise us to participate in it. So I ask you to return this little informal survey.

There was a second letter, after having secured the financing of the voyage, and one just before leaving. The telephone number of the school in Leuven is given in this letter. Nothing is mentioned about other forms of contact in the documentation. One of the parents, who accompanied me at the time, and with whom I spoke after one of the interviews for this work, said he remembered some phone calls to *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. The trip took place in the second half of June, which probably explains why the album about the trip to the correspondents is not completely finished.

Between these two pieces of information written to the parents, approximately 4 months pass, during which a large part of the group's work is centred on organising the voyage. Irene Querido, who was the class accountant, mentions "the year we went to Belgium; I remember the problems in terms of us all being able to go, if everything paid for". A "numbers task group" was created to accompany the budget and funding coming from some Portuguese companies and Portuguese and Belgian friends, as can be seen from the vouchers and two lists of donations. At the door of

the classroom there was another survey in escudo's, the Portuguese device at the time. The numbers task group updated its recipe sheet with some regularity.
Among the various companies that contributed, there was one that made a substantial and decisive contribution. Carla Brito says:

> "I remember... the voyage to Belgium: I remember, before the trip, talking about the possibility of a trip to Belgium, and I had the notion at that time that money was needed, although not [...], ... yeah ... I knew that money was needed, but I didn't really know where the money was coming from... eh... to go to Belgium... but I remember that *Pingo Doce*[163] contributed, and I remember that someone from *Pingo Doce*, a gentleman, I remember he had a moustache, eh... he came... soon after he had to go negotiate with Pingo Doce who was going to give money, eh... and he went to school, and gave an interview, I think I even helped with some questions, I even remember me that one question was "*Why did Pingo Doce decide to give money for [...] the trip to Belgium?*" I don't remember the answer. And I remember later, at the airport, we had to take t-shirts, from Pingo Doce, they gave us t-shirts, it was that lion symbol at the time, and we also put stickers on the bags, Pingo Doce."

In this project's album the letters from the institutions and companies that responded to the request are separated by *"yes letters"* and "*no letters*". The group contacted again by letter the entities that responded positively to the request, and conducted interviews with those responsible for the organisations in order to understand a little more the nature of those institutions, integrating the interviews in the album that reports the trip. An example of the interview request and its transcript follows. The ask for an encounter is processed by computer:

> *"Dear Pingo Doce sir Carlos R.F.,*
>
> *We are the 3rd class group of Voz do Operário that asked you to support our voyage to Belgium. We appreciate the money you sent us. We would like to do an interview with a Pingo Doce manager to find out more about your company. Thanks.*
> *Group: I., S., R., C.. Responsible: I."*

Below is a design with the company's logo, at the time the lion of the parent Belgian company. On a lined paper, handwritten and in two colours, follows the transcription of the interview:

> *"Pingo Doce"*
> *1 – What do you do at Pingo Doce?*
> *I am responsible for public relations.*

[163] Distribution chain of supermarkets.

2 – Do you like working there?
I like my work.
3 – Why did you give us money?
To help you.
4 – Where did you get the shirts and stickers?
These are items that the campaigns sector orders to be made.
5 – How many stores does Pingo Doce have?
35 stores.
6 – How many employees are there, "more or less" ?
There are around 2,800 employees.
7 – Who is the director?
Francisco Soares dos Santos.
End.

The dossier includes interviews with other entities as well as the report of a small group that went to the meteorological institute to ask for the weather forecast for Belgium during the week of the voyage, giving some insight in the work of this institute. A request for clarification to customs, what can be taken and what not, was left unanswered, as was a letter to the airport to find out more about its organisation.
The album informs further that Raquel and Sara organised the checklist for packing, that Diogo Garcia explained the signs that would be find in Belgian stations, during the train journey, from Zaventem to Brussels and from Brussels to Leuven. There is also a Portuguese-Flemish-Portuguese mini dictionary. Another album, produced by the Portuguese group, in the context of correspondence, presents a set of information about countries of the then European Economic Community, which I will talk about again later on[164].
The journey is documented by the opening minutes of the film that accompanies the whole week and by some photographs outside the airport. In one of them, there is the father of Diogo Garcia, one of the companions, handing out boarding passes to each of the children.
Carla Brito remembers the journey well:

> "I remember the day of the journey, we all went by bus from school, there, some parents, a few parents, went with us. Euh... I remember after we were at the entrance, saying goodbye to the parents, there at the entrance. I also remember that we were singing songs while we were waiting for the plane, when we were inside the airport. Songs that we were learning or that we had learned at school. I remember flying a plane, it was the first time I was on a plane, I remember the incredible feeling, when I was going up and landing, it

[164] See *"About the European Economic Community"* .

was crazy, it was completely new for me. I had a bit of an earache when we landed, but Pascal said it was normal."

Irene Querido talks about the last part of the trip:

"We arrived by plane, but they, when we met, were at the door or at the exit of a metro... I remember having to go up some stairs..."

In fact, the group takes the train to Leuven, where the station has corridors under the tracks and quays. After arriving, says Raul Bento: "I remember that first impact, trying to communicate and not really knowing how ... (pause) ...". There is a photograph that captures this first moment the children are together, in the schoolyard.
Tomás Prata has some memories of this first night:

"... that's how it is ... I don't know how it is with everyone [memorising], I have a lot of things I think about, backwards, and my memory is not visual. I remember feeling good, I remember enjoying it. I don't remember seeing things. [...] I remember getting there and they were waiting for us, and there were a lot of people waiting for us. We went to school, it was their school, wasn't it? ***Me***: Exactly. ***Tomás***: We went to their school, we went to eat, spaghetti Bolognese, I remember it was early to eat, and at the time we talked about it, and then I remember the house where I stayed, really, [...] it must have been a lot made of wood, because I more or less remember that, and I remember going out, and I remember going to a small supermarket, where we went to get a bouncy ball that came out of those little machines that rotate that little thing, and ... I don't remember. I remember coming back, I remember getting chewing gum on the plane, and little else."

The distribution of overnight stays at correspondents' homes is shown in the album.
Diogo Garcia completes:

"I remember when we picked the correspondents. I remember there was a photo, we chose. I remember that the correspondence was funny, I remember that at the time boys chose more boys, I remember that I had chosen a photo thinking it was a boy and it turned out to be a girl. It was Joke. Yes, exactly. Then... I think I still have the letters we exchanged."

Carla Brito tells how it was to visit the correspondent's house:

"... we had dinner at school, and each of us went to the Belgians' house, I... I think I called my house, from my correspondent's house, which was Tine. It was Raul's mother, she stayed there for two days, with us, I remember arriving at my correspondent's house, Tine, opening the blind, and there was written in Portuguese "Welcome" (Bemvindo), but it was misspelled, well it was with "n", (laughs) I remember this detail. [...] Okay, I remember more or less, a little

> bit of the house, my correspondent's house, it was in a very green area, I remember that there was a yard, too, I remember that there was, a few meters away, already outside, already outside their land, a few meters away, there was a horse, and I remember going to feed the horse."

As can be seen from the filmed record, Saturday was filled with a trip to a large playground, a picnic and a walk in the countryside and in the forest of Meerdaal. Carla Brito refers to it like this:

> "I remember going to a park, an amusement park, which I thought was spectacular, euh... I also remember interacting with the Belgians, euh... (with astonishment) it was easy, it was extremely easy to communicate with them ***despite*** not knowing a same language. When we had one doubt or another, we asked Pascal to translate, but it was rare."

This ease of communication can be seen throughout the filmed document. As an example, we see one of the Portuguese Roma, between two Belgian girls, holding hands in long conversations, knowing that at this point neither spoke the other's language.

On Sunday, the two groups meet again and Belgian fathers and mothers participate again, in a "treasure hunt or something like that, a rally paper, I remember that, and everything works well, we all knew how to behave, (long pause) these things." (Irene Querido). The film shows us 4 groups of a dozen children, accompanied by 3 or 4 adults, at different times and different points in the city of Leuven, with a script to fill in. Once again, one can see the ease of communication between adults and children and between children, when they try to follow the traced route. The guide for the visit is bilingual and, as shown in the images, guides the various groups through the old quarters of Leuven. The route ends in the main square, in the middle of the afternoon.

About living with the correspondents, in their homes, Tomás Prata also observes:

> "surely it must be something with completely different customs, with people I don't know from anywhere, in a house that was completely foreign to me, and who also didn't speak my language! But I remember being fine, which is great in the first place, isn't it? And for me it was all a new world, it was a discovery."

Among the findings are different eating habits, as observed by Carla Brito:

> "Euh... I remember being very amazed, with the meals, it was bread for breakfast, in the morning, then lunch, it was bread too, I think it was a sandwich, fruit, milk, which amazed me a lot, and we ate early. We ate early!"

After the weekend, the groups visit Brugge and the Belgian coast. Again accompanied by a small group of Belgian fathers and mothers, in addition to the three Portuguese

companions, the group crosses the central part of the city and visits the main square. Diogo Garcia reports:

> "I remember Bruges, we went there, and that the city was beautiful, this I remember, I liked Bruges a lot, I remember that we went to take a bath, and I remember, I think we passed Brussels, but not that it was something I liked."

The group observes the local bobbin lace and crosses the canals passing by the small bridges of the Gothic core of the city center. From the main square, Carla Brito has yet another memory:

> "What I remember best about Bruges was that it had a lot of horses. I also remember being amazed at the number of people riding bicycles, especially older people..."

The group leaves after the center, crosses an open-air museum, with an exhibition of the knights of the apocalyps by the Belgian sculptor Rik Poot. The visit to Bruges also made it possible to locate the *Vasquez house*, dating from 1468 and the place of residence of *João Vasquez*, Portuguese secretary and butler of Isabel of Portugal, sister of Infante Henrique, the Navigator, third wife of Filipe the Good, mother of Carlos the Reckless. There is a break in front of the house for an explanation about the relationship between Portugal and Flanders reigned by the Dukes of Burgundy.
The path leads to one of the beaches in Bredene where most children bathe in the North Sea. Carla Brito observes:

> "I remember going to the beach, with Sandra's relatively "blackmail" to me, she wanted me to change bathing suits with her, mine was prettier, it was. (laughs). I still have to settle this one with Sandra (laughs). Euh..."

Raul Bento remembers, on the trip from Brugge to Bredene, that "I was a bit impressed at the time because I knew we were below the average level of sea water ... more things ..."
The next day, there is a *tell and show* moment, filmed by one of the accompanying parents, under the correspondence blackboard. We see this blackboard again in detail, on the last day, when the last meeting is held together. It is also the time to leave a photocopy of the work on the European Economic Community, presented a few days before. There is a copy of a work on dogs, one on the 5th of October, yet another on the sea voyages of the Portuguese. There are also some class newspapers and a set of photographs of the Portuguese classroom.
From her work in the classroom, Selma Belo remembers that

> "we had it at the beginning of the class, we made a plan of the day of what we were going to work on, throughout the day, I remember, I know we did this in Belgium, I have a video, I remember that we did the drawing up for the day, of the things that each one would like it to be done. I don't know if we did that

here too."

In fact, in a filmed sequence, we see Benny Vandijck, teacher of the Belgian class, organising with the children the enrolment in different *workshops.* He proposes, in the first place, to list possible activities, suggested by adults and children, and then to determine who will do what. After a short time, the proposals are: clay work, constructions, painting, puppets, music, theater, drawing, comics and dance.
Raul Bento, who opted for constructions, says:

> "Their school was quite funny, they had some bicycles at the playground, they had a room, it wasn't really a room, it was more like a warehouse, with waste material, and I remember that one of the activities we did there was going into the room and, starting from nothing, pick up half a dozen things and build something."

In the filmed document there is a sequence at the EEC headquarters in Brussels, which apparently nobody remembers.
There were two contacts with journalists, one on the day of the farewell, in which the advantage of international correspondence is presented in the sense of allowing a lively and vivid exchange of information that Raul Bento remembers: "Hmm, I remember being interviewed by a radiostation, there at school, it was me, Pascal and Selma, if I'm not mistaken ..." . A video was recorded from this contact by the Belgian organisation *Masereelfonds* in which we heard the testimony of Raul Bento and Selma Belo, together with two Belgian colleagues, Eva, and Joke. Then Selma Belo, then 8 years old, explains:

> *"We set up some working groups, then we did a study on the common market, and then we had the idea of working together to go to Belgium, then we had more money in Pascal's box, in Pascal's designated account, and then and then we organised ourselves."*

Benny Vandijck mentions that one of the important aspects was the fact that the children carried out tasks together despite not speaking the same language, and seeing how easily they managed to organise themselves. Eva considers, in response to a question from one of the journalists, that the most important moment was *"to really see them"*.
Apparently, the Belgian group accompanied the Portuguese group to the airport. In one of the photographs from the return trip, some girls are playing hand games with each other. There is also a group photograph, in front of the airport's boarding area, in which I counted thirty-one children.
The correspondence album continues, now with a *"hello, welcome to Portugal"* poster. In the archive of the school I found preparation documents for the counter visit. Among them, another welcome poster, showing horses, a drawing in which Carla Brito's hand

is recognisable. Also in the case of Portugal, parents are involved. There is a list with the organisation of overnight stays, a contact sheet and preparation for a collective activity with the game of clues. Instructions are formulated mixing Portuguese words with Flemish words, thus requesting greater interaction between both groups.
The album refers to the itinerary for the several days of the visit by the group of correspondents, making the collaboration of the fathers and mothers clear:

> *07/05 Arrival at the airport around 2 pm. The Voz do Operário Van and some parents take everyone to school. Snack around 5 pm. For lunch, support is needed of some parents to prepare the tables and wash the dishes. The food comes partly from Voz do Operário da Ajuda, partly from the parents.*
> *Important: all parents who have correspondents at home must pick up their guests at the school by 7 pm. Who helps with lunch?*
> *08/05 Students come to school at normal time. We leave by bus to Cabo da Rocha, Lourinhã and Óbidos and the lagoon. We take a picnic from school. We expect to be back between 7 and 8 pm. We ask parents to pick up students at school.*
> *09/05 We will visit: the Jerónimos Monastery, the Belém Tower, the Discoveries Monument (on foot). S.'s mother brings us the picnic. We need some parents to prepare the school picnic. Who helps?*
> *10/05 Visit by boat or tram. Estimated time to visit the Town Hall or the Castle. Picnic: same script as for 09/05. Who helps?*
> *11/05 — Saturday. We go to the coast. We try a bus, otherwise we'll take individual transport. We gather in front of the school around 10.30. In the afternoon we have a treasure quest in which parents and children participate. We return in the afternoon.*
> *12/05 Sunday. In the morning: free. There will certainly be correspondents who want to buy gifts. In the afternoon (15.30) we get together at the school for a barbecue and snacks. It's the farewell party"*

From the farewell party, on Sunday, there are two photographs. One brings parents and children together in a classic group portrait. In addition to those who had been in Belgium the previous year, there were also children who transferred to the T3 class at the beginning of the 4th grade and who, at the beginning of the same school year, participated in the indoor camp in Portel, analysed next. The other photograph shows some children and some adults in a circle dance.
From the counter visit, Carla Brito has memories similar to those of Raul Bento, who says:

> "I remember our correspondents coming here a year later, I remember some walks here, Belém, Torre de Belém, I remember at my house, [...] Walter stayed at the time and I think, I don't know if it was later or later, Guillaume was there too, I think he was the only boy in the group who besides... is it

> Dutch? ... Yes ... he also spoke French, and ... if he wasn't the only one, he was one of the few, which made communication much easier, and I remember that we had a late afternoon here in Belém. I remember that we were on the coast of Caparica, with some activities too, on the beach."

Sheila Castro, who was not at school the previous year, only participated in international correspondence as a letter writer and guest. She states:

> "It was super cute. We wrote the letters, they wrote to us, it was really cool, it was always exciting, the time when we wrote the letters and they wrote to us. It was also a complete novelty, because at the other school we didn't have it and then the fact that it was communication with Belgium, I mean, it was a bit getting to know another country, another reality. Then they also came here and that was super exciting. I also had the advantage of many of them staying at my house, because I had a huge house."

Carla Brito adds:

> "It's true, in fourth grade, I remember appearing on television in the program *"Eterno Feminino"*. They did a notice on our correspondence with the Belgians. We went to Belgium and the Belgians came here".

In the correspondence album we find an article in the Correio da Manhã paper of 14 May 1991 with the title *"Miúdos da Voz do Operário acolhem amigos belgas"* and another from the Diário de Notícias with the same date with the title *"Lisboa revelada a alunos de escola belga"*. The first article talks about the cultural exchange and refers to the visit of the previous year:

> "*to get to know his friends "by letter" with whom they discovered references about the passage of the Portuguese in Flanders in the 15th century and about the activity of the [European] Common Market* ."

Selma Belo summarises:

> "And that is it. The correspondence was without a doubt the most important milestone that year for us. Because it was a pioneer, it was innovative, we had no idea what it was like to go to someone's house, for someone to come to our house, for us to go and see the school reality in Belgium, and they come to see our reality, but I say which was the most innovative, enriching experience any student can have. And honestly, I'm sorry that my children, who knows, or other friends, didn't have such a good experience."

The international correspondence with the double visit was a pioneer in *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, but the correspondence itself, including the visits, was not, as the T2 group showed. The corresponding school already had some experience with cross-border visits, and institutional pedagogy monographs regularly focus on this

type of encounter between children and their respective teachers, since the end of the fifties of the last century. In addition to providing ways of discovering the other and oneself in confrontation with the other, these voyages, as well as the camps, make possible a school that places itself in the world, instead of isolating itself from it, as long as avoiding to transform cultural objects in school artefacts as Sérgio Niza (2012) warns repeatedly when he talks about the work of learning.

Lisbon – Fetais

Of the T4 and T5 classes, I did not find correspondence testimonies. But the 1st grade of T6 class reveals correspondence, with a one-day visit by *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* to their colleagues in the village of Fetais nearby Sobral de Monte Agraço.
Without mentioning in the testimonies of those who were part of that group, there is some evidence of correspondence.
There is a collective register of questions and answers among correspondents. In November, correspondents mainly want information about the workplace:

"1. Do you have a canteen, workshops, computer?
2. Do you work a lot?
3. Do you have a typewriter?
4. Do you ride a bike?"

The same document that was sent contains a book with the answers:

"*We sent an illustrated book, in A3 format, in which everyone participated.*"

I found in the archive a black and white copy of this book:

"1. Do you have a canteen, workshops, computer?
Sheet 1: We don't have a cafeteria. We ate in the class room.
Sheet 2: We have a computer.
Sheet 3: We have two workshops: language and mathematics.
2. Do they work a lot?
Sheet 4: Yes, we do cards, loco, stories, painting, experiences.
Sheet 5: We copied texts from the news.
Sheet 6. We work with logical blocks, in the press, with the pleat board, with rulers.
Sheet 7: We discussed the newspaper.
Sheet 8: And more things.
3. Do you have a typewriter?
Sheet 9: We don't have a typewriter.
4. Do you ride bike?
Sheet 10: Tânia, Ricardo, João Paulo, Inês, Jorge, Catarina, André, António, Fernando and Helena ride a bicycle. Martha does not."

Along with the book there are the questions for the corresponding group.

"We want to know:
Does your school have a workshop, computer and canteen?
Do you work a lot?
Do you have a typewriter?
Do you usually ride a bike?
Do you have many toys?"

Collective questions and answers were part of the correspondence routine. In a compilation of the work carried out, I found the transcription of the answers of the correspondents inquired by the children of the T6 class. From one of these exchanges, I extracted the information given by the correspondents regarding toys:

"*Poster: We will answer your questions.*
At home we have:
Rita: a bear, a doll, a doll carriage, a telephone, an iron, a crybaby.
Sérgio: a remote-controlled car, a train track and a racing car track.
Bruno: a car that goes back and forth, a motorbike, a "bulldozer", a truck, a police car, a jeep.
David: a car, a plane, a keyring, a truck, 2 rackets, a motorcycle, and I'm making a wooden car in the workshop.
Nuno: a wooden car I made, a motorcycle, an orange police car, a jeep, a police motorcycle.
Pedro: a police car, a jeep, 4 rope cars, 2 trucks, a car track.
Teresa: a little doll and a little doll, a mixer.
Sofia: 2 dolls, 1 clown that plays the bugle, 1 doll bed.
Patrícia: 1 doll "and I really like her, I sleep with him in my bed".

This information served to make a graphical representation. In another poster, two sets connected by the relationship *"I have"* are presented. In the first set, the names of the correspondents who mentioned having toys at home appear, in the second, the names of the toys. Between the nine names in the first set and the five in the second, there are 13 arrows. This representation was probably discussed in the classroom, since besides the sets there are some beads that help to certify the departure and arrival of the arrows that visualise the established relationship.

During the first months, the collective exchange is visibly the most important. In December, when many of the children have already gained some autonomy in writing, individual correspondence appears. There was a choice among the children to make pairs, and in some cases triples, as the corresponding class had fewer children than the T6 class. The first individual letters are of the type:

"Hello, Sergio
Are you okay? I really liked your letter. Do you have a skateboard? I have one
Tiago" (+ drawing).

"Hello Bruno,
I went to my grandmother's house and then I went to the pool. Then I went to the restaurant. Then I went home. On vacation I was at the beach. And you?"
"Hello Rita
I never remembered to write again. I send you this writing.
Inês" (+ drawing + story).

The habit of making small storybooks, in the T6 class[165] is imitated by some correspondent children. Rita sends some news in the form of a booklet to Inês:

(first page)
"Hello Ines. I like you.
I'll tell you a story [about] my father.
My dad plays ball with me but he is a lot"
(second page)
"bumbler.
End
Did you like it?"

As of February, correspondence is enriched with texts produced by children in both schools. Thus, the T6 class received, on the 14th of that month, five texts, two of which I reproduce here:

"The truck
My father has a truck.
He transports chairs to Lisbon.
My father makes upholstered wooden chairs.
David, age 8".

"My die
I have a big throwing die with lots of red dots.
The die is white and very beautiful.
I like to play with him.
Ana Rita 7 years old."

The collective correspondence contemplates conversations about working with the LOGO program[166] on the computer, stories to continue with each return of the mail, reading texts with (partially) hidden words.
When talking about animals, the Fetais children clearly speak from a different context: at home there are rabbits, turtledoves, chickens, a horse, in addition to dogs and cats, and:

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[165] See below, *"The social use of knowing how to read and write"* .

[166] See page 94 , *"The computer and LOGO programming"* .

" *We have 1 animal at school: a snake.*
30.04.92".

This animal causes some astonishment and will be seen on the day of the visit, scheduled for May 5th. The letter to parents states:

"Letter to parents
On Tuesday, May 5th, we will visit our correspondents in Fetais (Sobral de Monte Agraço). We leave at 9:30 am and return at 4:00 pm. Those who usually have lunch at school will have a picnic made at school. Those who usually eat at home will have to bring their picnic.
Best regards,
Pascal"

On the agreed day, the Voz do Operário van fails, and a telegram is sent to warn and postpone the visit. A few days later the class receives a letter, written on the 6th of May:

"06.05.92
Hello boys and girls,
Are you good? Is your teacher okay?
Our snake died because it was sick and had its tail cut off. The boys in the other room picked up the snake with gloves. We wanted to treat it and then release it in the field.
We have your book in the library. A writer also came to our school: Alice Vieira.
Yesterday we went to the mill. We are sorry that they could not come. Have you received our telegram yet?"

The visit took place towards the end of May, after mobilising some mothers and fathers, using their own transport. In early June, there is a farewell letter, apparently in response to a letter from the T6 class, also after the visit:

"03.06.92
Hello friends
All good? Next year we want to go to your school! Is your school big?
We enjoyed meeting you. Rita's mom said you were pretty and sang well.
She enjoyed baking bread for you.
The very next day, we found out that a car had broken down due to lack of gasoline, Américo told us.
We finished the puppet you started; all that's missing is the fishing line and the clothes and hair.
Answers:
Rita: – My mother bakes bread every week for my family.

Patrícia: – Fábio is my cousin.
Sofia: – A harvest is a land with sown things.
Goodbye. See you next year."

I did not find any record of a possible continuation of this correspondence, which was also not mentioned by Dora Agostinho, who became the class teacher in the 1992-1993 school year.

Camps and fieldwork

Camps and fieldwork represent an important aspect of outside work typical for this school. Learning is articulated with the experiences lived during these camps. Much of the fieldwork consists of listening and gathering testimonies, experiencing what is witnessed. Objects of study are extracted from the growing experience, relating them to the information and knowledge made available to children.
The place chosen for the camp becomes a place of study, as confirmed by Julieta Lopes:

> "Yes, yes, normally one of the themes of the camps was always a study of where we were. And there were very good camps [like] in Alvito, Alvito was very good, it was very rich, because ..., especially [when] the municipalities [adhered]. [And they] always joined. And they were always with us. ***Me*** : Who chose the places where they were going to camp? ***Julieta*** : It was us. ***Me*** : Us adults or us kids and adults? ***Julieta*** : Us adults. Because (laughs) normally, it was the Alentejo. For a long time Alentejo was my favourite place. Then in the last few years, we moved a little higher, but we never went to the North. It depended a lot on whether there was anything... for example I remember that we went to the *Serra de Mira d'Aire* because there was a program about bats on television... "

About the choice of locations and the work carried out in the camps, Tomás Duarte says:

> "And thus... I don't remember the work very well anymore: what, how later we developed it. But at least, the prep work I remember we had. We decided what we were going to take, discussed where we were going. ***Me*** : Was it your choice, the location? ***Tomás*** : No, I don't think so. I don't think we were the ones who chose. But anyway, I remember the preparation, it lasted a long time, and that we spent a lot of time talking about it, if you want me to tell you Pascal, I don't know anymore, it's gone a long way. Hmm, it's like that, I don't remember anymore, but about the activities for us, [there was] more work in the classroom than just the camping moment."

Due to the preparation and organisation time, many camps were placed in the third

period of the school year, as well as the meetings with the most distant correspondents. In the case of indoor camps this was not necessarily the case. Dora Agostinho mentions:

> "I remember that Portel, for example, we did in November, and then I think that the others, it was more forward in time. At the time, camps were held with 3rd and 4th graders, so it was possible to do it right at the beginning, because, from the outset, everyone was already within a dynamic and therefore it was possible to do it quite close... [.. .] at the beginning of the year, it was the first one I did, but then I think it was later."

The main objective of the camps was to study subjects *in loco*, as expressed by Dora Agostinho:

> "Obviously, I only do this with a goal, [...] I think that, deep down, it is to be able to live what you learn and not be learning from the book that in the municipality of Alcácer people live from this or that, without being there, without being able to perceive or say that the river has this or that characteristic, without having seen it."

The relationship with learning which, as stated by Lahire, Vincent and Thin (1994), at school resorts to its own codification, is based on the transfer of knowledge, isolated from the transmission of experiences, which the authors define as typical of forms of oral social relationships. However, here, again is perceived the syntax proper to the practice of "turning pedagogical" the social relation of learning by *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*; it is a syntax of a *praxis* in a pedagogical space of transfer, an interstice between two moments of interpretation and conceptualisation, more than a space of normalisation. This conceals objected knowledge with knowledge provided by experience. Perhaps this is the reason why it is not surprising to observe, integrated in the filmed collection of the school, a document, which accompanies a camp organised by adults, not in school context and not in the role of school teachers. It is a camp in which children and adults participate, including adults from the school. The camp alternates moments of leisure with moments of discovery and learning. From what I could find out, there were initiatives of this type in the years 1992-1995 in Serra da Estrela, in the megalithic Alentejo and on the banks of the Tagus in the Santarém area.

About Montachique

From the T1 and T2 classes, the testimonies come through some photographs and the memories of Francisco Neto (T1), Milene Neves and Irene Pires (T2), as well as Clarisse Rosa. Some of the photographs are probably pictures of camp setup. In one of them, as an example, three boys present the organisation of the schedule. Another photograph shows five children, including Irene Pires, who present the organisation of the tents.

From the camp itself, Irene Pires remembers an episode that was also reported to me by Clarisse Rosa, referring to one of the improvised initiatives of one of the school employees who accompanied the group that year:

> "[I remember the] camps where there were always very *sui generis* stories... There is one that is very well known, which is [name]'s soup: she made a soup with all the leftovers for a week... nobody managed to eat it and the school en masse throw it in the garbage can. She didn't understand why, "*because the soup was so good*". It had cod, it had... everything."

In addition to Montachique, Francisco Neto talks about another camp, in the Setúbal area:

> "... in fourth grade I didn't go to the whole camp, because I had an operation on my fingers, but I still went there, it was somewhere in Setúbal, somewhere on a farm around Setúbal, and that was it then, we lived a real... , being a dream, we lived a fantasy, I mean, we fantasised about everything."

Returning to Montachique, Francisco Neto mentions the animals:

> "... it was more the question of snakes, and we also studied that question of snakes throughout the year, and there were many snakes there. We felt, I don't know if it was true, but any little noise we heard: "these are snakes, these are snakes... snakes... calling others, or the mother calling her daughter", we imagined all that. And then: "no, no, no, if it was a snake it would be more SSSsssSSS SSSsssSSS". It was more I don't know what, and I remember that we were with that snake thing that there were snakes there. That's it, after the tents, the fireflies, at night we saw the fireflies ..."

Clarisse Rosa considers that the Montachique camp

> "it was a rather weak camp, it was a little disappointing, because ... around there wasn't much to explore, or to do, but I think it was a camp that was experienced, as I have to say, it served above all to strengthen relations between the groups within the *Voz* itself."

The photographic record, which was mixed at school with photographs from the 1993-1994 school year, shows few work situations, reinforcing this opinion. In one of the photographs, a girl can be seen concentrating on recording work, at a table with A3 sheets and pens. Behind her, plants drying on white leaves, hanging on the wall, for a herbarium. In another, there are four girls at the entrance to a small cave in the Montachique rock system. They display the plan they made inside the cave.

I even found two photographs, presumably from moments of work, in which information is recorded. In the first one, two boys are joining written or drawn data, from what appears to be a sheet of notes. In another photograph, a group of children

is sitting at long tables and three boys standing, one of whom may be giving a testimony of one or another activity or occurrence.
Finally, it seems clear that work organisation routines are also registered during the camps. We see in one of the photographs a work meeting that resembles a council, probably after dinner. Some children appear to be in their pyjamas and there are stuffed animals that attend the meeting. Whoever is sitting at the table (who coordinates the meeting?) is visibly arguing an issue. In the audience we identified a father, probably participating in the camp.

Indoor camp in Portel

Due to my stil strong connection with institutional pedagogy in 1989, the T3 class shows a path closely linked to the experience of correspondence and an organisation geared towards productive *workshops*, as was visible through the analysis of the collected testimonies. However, with the indoor camp in Portel, the group of children and adults sought to extend the work outside the school grounds to a relationship with others experiences not through another school but another place. Regarding the experience of working outside of school, Dora Agostinho says:

> "[...] this goes a lot through the relations they have, either with adults or with colleagues, I think it's something that, when you leave school, it increases a lot, it's relationships, that's it."

This idea of reinforcing relationships suggests, once again, a divergent syntax from that which is inscribed in the grammar of practice (Vincent, Lahire, Thin, 1994) or the grammar of schooling (Tyack and Tobin, 1994), which presents a school shape of social relation of Lassallian logic. In this logic, the codification of relations is part of a context of hierarchical dependence, with behaviours and regulations prescribed for teacher and student, forcing a place closed in on itself, necessarily isolated from the world, so that normalisation is presumed to be executable.
On the contrary, here, the place consists of a mobile space-time, which exists due to the existence of a group of people who constitute and establish it, wherever the group is and which allows for cooperative work. Teachers identify it as schoolwork. In a note in the information for parents, it is explained:

> *"As was made clear at parent meetings, this is not a walk-in. Rather, it is the implementation of part of the program for the 2nd phase of primary education. We think it is important for all students to go so that in the future they do not work abstractly with the data collected by other children."*

In general, the memories of those who were in the T3 class are more vivid in relation to the correspondence than in relation to the indoor camp.
Two video recordings accompany the indoor camp, before, during and after the days in Portel. In one of them, one of the T3 students reports the purchase of tickets for

the trip. It can be seen, from the indoor camp album, that the journey was made by Express Bus on the way out, and by bus, train and boat on the way back. The album, which was made on A3 sheets, to allow for exposure before binding, has three parts: *I Organisation , II Study and III other interesting and funny things around Portel.* The first part contains 22 pages dedicated to the organisation of the indoor camp, written and illustrated by the children, organised into work groups: organisation of the trip, organisation of overnight stays, material, kitchen, rules / leisure, organisation of work groups in *loco*. The second part is subdivided into 6, corresponding to the six work groups mentioned, with a total of 42 pages: study of animals, agriculture, geography, history, trades and professions and traditions. The third part includes the products of a writing *workshop* (having as lead: when I was in Portel), the exploration of Portel and Moura, the songs from the local songbook learned for the presentation of the work, the verses of the illiterate popular shepherd-poet who received the group, a short story by regional writer Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, with new purposes, invented in a writing workshop and there is even a reference to "Problem: how much does this cost?", at the end of the album, although I didn't find this part.

In the filmed document, the group is seen talking to the shepherd, asking questions about the sheep and dogs and then drinking water from a clay pitcher in his house. Then we see the whole group, very attentive, listening to the verses he had prepared[167]:

"I learned from the birds, they also learned
they neither write nor read, they always sang alone
they are my neighbours, happy and charming
today I teach the lesson, students and teachers,
pay attention.

I'm a popular poet, like there are so many here around
what I know nothing I wrote
I only think about memorise, if I forget I try to remember
say the words and adapt them, say them and compare them
say them in thought, to say them in the moment
pay attention now, soon you speak

If you like to hear, I have more to tell you.
I have a book to read to you, knowing that you wanted to hear
it's just to amuse you and give me more work
My ladies, my gentlemen
health and happiness in respect of ages,
my studies are superior.

[167] Here in translation not having the original rhythm and rime

Please I ask you to pardon me and I'll tell you why
I just said I know
But it was just for fun, don't leave anyone thinking
that I have pencils or a suitcase, or that I know those rooms that are called school
I didn't even play football on the field."

About the exploration of Portel, Raul Bento remembers the castle:

"I think it was with the DG, that we got the feeling that we had been locked inside the castle, so we were a bit panicked. I can't remember how this happened, but I have this idea of us being on the wall trying to find our way out of the castle, knowing that you were already outside."

Carla Brito remembers another scare that the castle had in store:

"I remember at the castle how Danilo, it was crazy, up there, he put himself, he was there on top of the wall, that's it, he was really in a very risky position, and Pascal let out a big scream, and Danilo immediately put himself in his place..."

In fact, the children did a reconnaissance of Portel in small groups, and some of the older ones did the route alone. When Carla's group, which I accompanied, arrived at the castle, Danilo was seen standing up there on the battlements. Irene Querido remembers why:

"Portel, Portel has a castle. (laughs) I remember walking around the castle, looking for a way to go all the way around, over the walls. Me and a few others. It was me plus four or five."

There is little memory of the visit to the pottery, the conversation around the potter's table and the conversation with the owner of the olive oil mill at Portel. Sheila Castro says:

"We went a little further, it was more interesting, we then made a study visit, I don't remember exactly where it was, and we went to see and make clay and a series of things."

In the album there are written reports of the different work groups that, once back at school, organised the information, on the sheets prepared beforehand. I found few photographs that show the elaboration of the album. In one of them, we see Diogo Garcia, with two colleagues, preparing a page related to agriculture.
From this outing, Raul Bento, Fernanda Queirós, Tomás Prata and Sheila Castro still have some memory of the organisation of overnight stays and the trip itself, of which Carla Brito tells:

"I don't remember well the outward journey, but on the return journey, I know

> that we took the train to Barreiro, I don't know if we took the boat afterwards or not. And I remember it was before Christmas."

Berlenga, Peniche, Alvito, Arrábida

In the period between September 1992 and July 1999, Julieta Lopes and Dora Agostinho developed a lot of work together. In the first semester of 1993, due to the temporary absence of Dora Agostinho, part of the T6 group joined the T5 class, participating in the camps and work projects of this group. The following year, the two classes plan their activities together, often occupying only one classroom, using the other as an extension for group or individual work. The T5 students left *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in 1994, the T6 students in 1995. This means that while the camps on Ilha da Berlenga, Peniche and Alvito were set up together, the Arrábida camp was set up with the T6 pupils accompanied by another class of which there are no testimonials from former students. When she started talking about camps, Julieta Lopes mentioned:

> "Since then we have also done very good work on fascism, which was called "from snails to fascism". I think it was [therefore] that we went camping, it was! Because it was when we went camping on the island of Berlenga, we also passed by the Peniche fort, people went there, then, when we got back to school, there was a militant from the communist party, who had escaped from Peniche with Álvaro Cunhal. He explained that whole situation [how they did], so we also did a very good job with the snails!"

From what I was able to reconstruct, based on existing documents in the collection of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, Julieta Lopes mixes two periods of work here. The camp at Ilha da Berlenga stems from a discussion, which she also mentioned, about cutting the fig tree. This cut, which led to a strong revolt by some children, as has already been reported, led to another contact with Quercus, because they wanted to know more about the trees. There they were told that "protecting nature goes against the will of people who want to earn a lot of money".

Carla Garcia confirms:

> "Once we went to Quercus, we talked a lot about endangered species, we went to Peniche, to the island of Berlenga".

The work *"From snails to fascism"* is part of another set of works, carried out with the T1 group and did not involve camping.

But the voyage to Ilha da Berlenga brings back more memories. Julieta Lopes says:

> "Well it was the most extraordinary, the most extraordinary camp that I lived with the kids. Because at the time I had only had the class for a short time, I still hadn't got hold of them, the Berlenga was very complicated, very difficult, we had to walk on trails, with seagulls on one side and the abyss on the other,

and it was a dangerous camp..."

Later in the interview she continues, saying:

"I just knew it was very dangerous, and first we went camping for two days in Peniche, and then we had the people from the reserve all practically for our own. They spoke a lot with [the children], in the daily assembly, the day before we left, it was a very participative assembly, and the kids were very warned of what could happen. Look, it was in such a way that they couldn't move around by themselves, not even to pee. And then, when they wanted to go, when they needed to, they always asked an adult. When the adult went to the bathroom, he said to the children, I'm going to the bathroom, who wants to go, because no one would go there alone. The camp, the boundary of the camp was two tents [for the adults] and beyond that was the abyss, and no one set foot beyond those tents."

Some of the photographs from that time clearly show the justified fears about some of the risks involved in taking 7 and 8 year olds camping on Berlenga Island. The "camping" is a minimal space, on a staircase, and the last step is very close to a cliff over an entrance from the sea to a small beach.

Tomás Duarte, who was one of the great rebels, when he saw the fig tree being cut down, says that the camps in general and this one, on Ilha da Berlenga in particular, were of great importance to him:

"We did two. One of them was in Berlenga, on the island of Berlenga's, of course. We had a part in Peniche, we made a visit, if I'm not mistaken, to the fort of Peniche, and then, in Berlenga, if memory serves me correctly, we were with a biologist, and it was very much about that, the biology and ecology of the island, and then the rest was also fun, wasn't it, it was the madness of being alone, without the parents, in my case it wasn't always like that, was it, because my father ended up participating in the activities, but on the other hand, he ended for not directly interfering with me. And it was this adventure that for us was spectacular, that ... And the trip to Berlenga, I haven't gone back there yet, and I think that without a doubt, and once again, it is also very much linked to the awakening of my interest in the natural sciences. It turns out to be what I followed in high school, like when I went to college."

There are some filmed images of the arrival of a group of parents on Berlenga Island. We see a plan with Diogo Garcia, his mother and myself. Some children present a poster with the text *"the proposal was approved by a large majority in yesterday's meeting, that parents who come, help us to dismantle the tents, because we are very tired"* In the shot below, we see some parents cleaning, folding and arranging tents. The photographs show people carrying pots and equipment some tents still

set up on the slopes and people climbing with already dismantled material, while children pack bags and blankets in a group or look at the adults.
I found a video clip, filmed in the basement of the school, with the follow-up. On the walls there is information about the organisation of the camp: a panel with the distribution of the tents and the people in the tents, a presentation of the work week divided between the visit to the Peniche dunes, the Peniche fort and Berlenga Island, the explanation of the timetable, per working day, the wall newspapers (class diaries) during the camp. The video focuses on a child giving complementary explanations to what is displayed on the walls. In a second room, there are exhibitors with information. Adults observe the exposed work, guided by children who comment on it. The material on display consists mainly of A3 sheets of paper, with texts and original drawings, accompanied by some photographs and some clippings. After the presentation of the work, there is a flattering evaluation by a representative of this organisation, reinforced by a mother.
Much of the material appears on the album *"Paraíso de Estudos – Ilha de Sonho"*[168] of which, in the collection of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, I only found a photocopy. The work is announced as a joint effort between the schools of Ajuda and Graça. The album opens with *"We've been in a " Sanctuary " of Nature. Let's make the world we live in an immense Berlenga"*. From the 100-page album I took these three pages from the logbook, probably the result of moments of collective writing and referring to the days on Berlenga Island:

> *"(pages 32 and 33) We woke up very early and after getting ready, we went to put our things near to the sanitairs and waited for a van from Peniche Council that was going to take us to the boat. We took the seasickness pills and left for the port. There, while the adults were carrying things, we, seated and quiet, sang with Sofia. And when everything was ready, we got on the boat and went singing, shouting and clapping our hands to the Berlenga's. And no one threw up. We arrived at the Berlenga's. We carried the lightest things to the place where we were going to camp. The rest went by tractor, because it was far and uphill. We set up and set up the tents and went to lunch. Some only cleaned up after lunch. We had free time all afternoon. We went to the beach, but we didn't take a bath because we were digesting. We sang with Sofia, we ran five times from one place to another, we cleaned the beach and some made a castle. Finally we went to the sea. Some who were drying saw an adolescent seagull eating a cake that some careless people had left on the beach.*
>
> *(page 34) We get up early and in a good mood. The usual stuff: brushing teeth and eating. We had to organise ourselves because we couldn't go to the bathroom*

[168] Study paradise — dreamed island

*alone. Then we had a quick meeting and divided into work groups and in single file we left for the South side of the island. We've seen wonders and come back delighted and weary. After lunch, we could rest a little and we went to see the North side of the island. Halfway there, we sat down in a large concrete space that is the Peniche cistern and watched the cries and behaviour of the seagulls. (*witnessed by the photographs on page 86, with the caption "*we watched the seagulls and tried to interpret their cries*") *We returned to the camp, had lunch and went to talk to the fishermen who were already waiting for us. Afterwards, tired but happy, we went to dinner and still had the last meeting before going to bed. And we fell asleep happy for having had such a good time and also for going back home. We already mis home..*

(page 35 missing, page 36) The parents even had lunch with us and went for a walk around the island while we went to the beach until it was time to board. But we don't bathe because of digestion. We were in the shade singing accompanied on the guitar by Pascal. Then we went to the pier and took the boat. When we arrived in Peniche, some came with their parents and others in the Voz vans."

Among the various memories about this camp, I recorded Carla Garcia's observations, when she talks about the different work at school:

"So I clearly remember going to the Berlenga's, seeing all those birds. It must also be something specific, was it birds and whales, [...] at that time it was something that, except that it was whales and birds of prey, what were we studying at that time, and, more?"

Returning to the filmed document, we see that the presentation ends with a song that covers the themes of the camp, which warns in the chorus *"that whoever commands the earth, destroys the earth and is always waging war"*. Then there is a conversation, where we see the children sitting in a semicircle, on the floor in another part of the basement, and adults, making another semicircle. The first adult to intervene says:

"... I think it raises a lot of awareness of environmental issues, and I think that your work could be disseminated to local authorities, since we are in the year when there will be elections at the level of parish councils and city councils, I am thinking that you could send your research, why not, to the mayor of Lisbon, to the department of cultural action to say what you are doing here and to ask for support for the research work you are doing here.

(second person): "It's a very high quality work that was done by such small kids. And worrying, for example, about going to the right sources, the right sources, to have good information about the topics they were dealing with. This..., already at your age."

That research was taken seriously, as previous testimonies appear, Judite Pinheiro has no doubts about that. She comments very firmly:

> "We worked a lot. [We talk] a lot and [with] a lot of people. Often. I think we've traveled a lot. We visited Berlenga's, Peniche was on the same trip. Alvito, we also went to Alvito."

From the Alvito camp several sequences were filmed. One of them presents the organisation of the camp, where once again the various routines in the organisation of the days are explained, including the function of the council, which becomes daily in these moments of work outside of school and home. The larger film recounts in detail and for almost two hours the entire working week, recording interviews with technicians and the local population in relation to the Municipality of Alvito, its history, the activities that exist there, as well as the long visit to a farm and exploration of the area through a game of clues with the same type of organisation as other camps or meetings with correspondents. This camp did not have major support infrastructure, requiring cold water showers from a hose or watering can, as Dora Agostinho and Judite Pinheiro demonstrate.

Like the other camps, this one also left an album, of sixty-three A3 pages, with the title *"Alentejo: uma Esperança Remote"*[169], which was on display at the school, before being bound. As already seen in other albums, there is a first part that explains the preparation and organisation of the camp, containing the coloured acetates, which the children prepared to explain the camp to their parents. Here are the "wallpapers" that constituted the agenda during the camp and the decisions that were taken there. One of them says: *" If there are big problems, we have an emergency meeting; to decide if we all go to Lisbon or the just who caused them"*. Although always involved in the decision, it is also always clear that the status of child and adult are different, not only in the treatment of information and interaction with knowledge, but also in contexts of potential danger. A novelty is that this album produced in 1994 is the first to have the entire research work written on computer and printed with a dot matrix printer.

In this album, as in the previous one, there is a record of the opinions of the participants, around four entries: *"general impression"*, *"what I liked best"*, *"what I didn't like"*, *"what impressed me the most"*. As an example, Milene Afonso[170] writes:

> *"Overall opinion: I really liked the camp.*
>
> *What I liked the most: going to the farm, riding a horse; go to the dam; breakfast, lunch and dinner; the baths; about the people who went with us; the journey there; let Julieta make clay; the papa-borregos* [a tavern]*; study visits; riding in the jalopy*

[169] Alentejo, a far away hope.

[170] Class T5.

(school van); the track game.

What I liked least: the bathroom; that R. said those things to H.; the messes that T. made at mealtime; the problems there were; the peaks; that L. spoiled paints, from field fire.

What impressed me the most: the farm; how much rubbish in the bin: the stupidity of some boys."

Camp photographs illustrate the different activities. In one of them we see 12 children, accompanied by Dora Agostinho and one of the heads of a farm watching two horses that come to greet the children. It is on this same farm that the children will experience to sit on the horses back. In the film that reports the camp there is a long sequence in which the children are observed, one by one, on the back of the horse.

At the "papa-borregos" tavern, which has a small museum collection of objects from the countryside, in what appears to be an old warehouse with a cement floor, a villager shows a group of children, one of the parents and Dora Agostinho, a collection of measures formerly used in the countryside, hanging on a wall. A group of men is watching the children. Some children and Julieta Lopes, looking tired, are sitting on benches at the table, in front of the wall full of field work objects. The same guide continues to talk to the seated children. Judite Pinheiro is in the foreground.

During the moments of rest in the farmhouse, where Alvito's camp was set up, there are those who lean over and talk and there are those who take advantage of the artistic expression materials available. A group of four boys, including Tomás Duarte, are chatting on the porch of the house. Other children record their notes for future treatment. Some do it outdoors, in front of the tents among the cork oaks, sitting on the remains of a small fence wall. Among them there is Vítor Abreu seen from behind. Others paint or do clay work, inside the house, to the sound of a Portuguese hit of that moment "Nasce Selvagem" (Born Wild) song by *the Delfins*.

The camp album contains the history of agrarian reform in Alentejo, with references to the Carnation Revolution, as well as work on traditional Alentejo houses, the history of the town and monuments of Alvito and the construction project for the Alqueva dam.

It was not possible to find photographs of the camp in Arrábida, but the album remained, in the estate of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, with the title *"Arrábida".* It concerns 82 A3 sheets, which, as in other cases, were used for an exhibition before being transformed into album. From the presentation to the parents, there are some photographs. In one of them, a child explains one of the information panels to three visitors. Another photograph shows the tile panel painted by the children

that represents the camp. It is a panel of 12 tiles (4 x 3) where the tents can be seen, in the middle of trees, with the sea in the distance, behind a fence. At the front there is a children's playground. Ricardo Azevedo[171] talks about this camp when he remembers a day visit to Alcácer do Sal:

> "[I remember] very vaguely... The *Parchanas Estate* (pause)... then I went to a camp that I don't remember... oh, Serra da Arrábida! That's all I remember. We played, ate, drank (laughter in the voice), it was, hey man, it was super fantastic. I loved it! That was really good. That was really living with all my friends, who I haven't seen for a long time, that was fantastic."

Avis and Port of Muge

Carla Gouveia, Rita Silves and Melissa Lousada are part of the group that made up the T7 class. This group participated in a camp in Avis and another in Porto de Muge. There may have been others, but they were not mentioned to me during the interviews. Of these two camps that took place in 1998 and 1999, I did not analyse the albums that have the same characteristics as the others already discussed here. There is a reference to the Porto de Muge camp, made by Rita Silves and Melissa Lousada, when they talk about the mathematical investigation (Paulus, 1999) that they carried out over half a school year, and which ended during that camp. Carla Gouveia remembers the autonomy that the camps gave:

> "Ah! What I remember... There are the camps. The camps at the same time also give us, well, the issue of responsibility [still] very young, it also leads to us having a greater distance from the parents, let's not be so much mommy and daddy's kids, we managed... well, the camps they were fantastic, they were too much."

This aspect of the camps is also focused by Melissa Lousada:

> "... we stayed in a certain place camping, without parents, without contact with parents, without cell phones, without phone calls, and that's it, we went to know the place, and [play] track games [...] We managed to do things more easily , without... if we put in our minds that we are at a camp, we manage to manage and things are going well, we don't have to be there with the creams for pimples, and other things...
>
> And this can be seen in the more practical aspects, but also in other aspects, it also develops other aspects, more related... more with the intellectual, another way of being, and that's it, the camp was always a highlight of the year: the preparation for the camp, then the gathering of information, the experience, and then returning, and continuing to carry out the work that we

[171] Class T6, between 1991 and 1995.

had planned to develop throughout the year."

The camps, like the correspondence, are currently part of the routines of the Voz do Operário da Ajuda school. Its school shape of social relations is not limited to a single place designed for this purpose. It thus moulds an interaction with knowledge that connects experimentation, the transmission of experiences with a certain 'pedagogical input'. The social relations of learning occur in a codification context, typical of the school shape. However, *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, resorting to the work models developed by institutional pedagogy and by the MEM, re-codifies this pedagogical relationship, proposing a scenario that brings the school shape closer to shapes of social learning relations in other space-times. The interactive cultural space-time, which is designed here, presents itself as a wide set of places, revived in different times of action of adults, covering them with the role of teacher, and of children, containing the moments in which they perform the their school role.
I now propose a more focused look at the projects and the studies they contain, inscribed in this cultural space-time.

Studies and work projects to find out more

The questions

What does "*study*" or "*work project*" mean in the context of work in the classroom at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in the analysed period? What relation to knowledge emerges from the processes documented and relived in memories?
A significant part of the non-iconographic assets that I found in Voz do Operário, as well as the set of photographs and filmed documents that I analysed, accompany the memories of former students, when they refer to the important slice of available time, reserved for studies and work projects, some ordered by teachers, but many due to provocations by adults or questions from children.
There are documentary studies and experimental work; there are integrated studies in projects confined to an area, there are cross-sectional studies, eventually generated by correspondence, by encampments or by going out. There is a concern to interact with information based on the knowledge of each of the children – translated as "*what I want to know*", "*what the group wants to know*" – or as Irene Pires mentions: "I think we could propose research work, and that, I remember because it was something like that a lot, which was a bit typical of the Voz... ".
There are several sequences in the archive videos in which small groups are observed organising information, with or without the presence of an adult. This is the case of the T5 and T6 classes, working on the history of the school. A passage of the camera through the room, shows groups of two to five people, around tables, discussing together. It is possible autonomous work at times mixes with project work. Milene

Afonso[172] mentions:

> "Anyway, in addition to making the individual plan, and the new activities that we proposed, we also had group work and, therefore, we always had activities or study texts. [...] Group work was always highly encouraged, and once again cooperation, well, hmm, and the rest of the time was not so stipulated, so to speak."

Jorge Carvalho remembers the project work included a writing phase and a communication phase:

> "Not infrequently, we got together in groups to make compositions. I don't know if it was every week or not. But I remember that we got together in groups of three or four to make compositions or works. ***Me***: And these works, it was just writing, or don't you remember? ***Jorge***: Yes, there were also other things, in the middle of that, hmm, I think we presented, I remember once, having to do a work on Minho, so we had to bring elements from home. I remember doing it, talking to others that it was the Lima river..., and we were a group of 5 or 6. So we had to do something physical on paper, with paintings, with texts, about the population, about the rivers what it had, the geographic characterisation, perhaps, population, I think it was like a research thing, it had to do with age... but, and then we had to present: the works, that was it."

The presentations take place not only in the classroom, but also in the basement, as seen before. And, as Julieta Lopes describes, the works, by their nature, are interconnected. Sources vary, interact, and interconnect too. In the interview Julieta refers:

> "First it was defined... there was the big trunk. From here what we can study. What [is] that you want to study what [is] that we think is important to study. Now, in view of this, within these ..., what we can use as..., as instruments ... we can use books, the arrival of people, our trip abroad, I don't know."

In more complex projects, there is always an organisational, group approach, which is recorded on the first pages of the albums, products of the studies carried out.
This is what happens with the study on Lisbon, which follows the study on the history of the school, both in classes T5 and T6. When organising the work, they start by defining what each person will do. In a filmed sequence, Julieta Lopes is seen directing a discussion. The collective has to define the various perspectives that it will develop on the city, reconciling the wishes of each one with the collective interest of reaching the end and getting to know the city. The discussion takes place around the themes to be fixed and the difficulty of finding a good distribution of

[172] Class T5.

interested parties for each theme. At one point, a child observes: *"Oh, Julieta, if they are against it, it is because they are not interested"*. Julieta replies: *"I agree, if you don't agree with this proposal, it's because you're not interested in the theme for which you proposed"*. Julieta waits calmly while the children rethink the matter, for about half a minute, and then says: *"How are we going to solve the problem now?"*. One of the students declares that he will then move on to another topic (it is not clear which one), but Julieta replies *"No , it's not up to you, it 's up to all, it's how we're going to solve this"* pointing to the diagram overall organisation of the study. When they are already in a reorganisation phase, Tomás Duarte mentions that he also changes subject. Julieta responds: *"That's not how Tomás is, do you want to develop the theme that interests you or do you want to go where others go?"* The answer seems to be that the topic interests him and that he wants to work on it with certain friends. There is laughter, Julieta rearranges the scheme, laughs too and says: *"That's it, I understand, so the three of you stay on this topic"*. The discussion continues about what each one wants to do and, at the end of the working day, the general plan is on the board: *"Lisbon: cultural aspect, physical aspect, environmental aspect, monuments, traditions, history of the city"* with the respective subscribers for each theme.

Teamwork and involvement in projects is something that Francisco Neto highlights:

> "we really liked that, the school, going there, working there, working in partnerships, we had the opportunity to do that, to work in partnership, and we were always involved in various projects, I also remember to draw a lot, and to like it a lot..."

According to Dora Agostinho, this type of chaining of work and projects continues:

> "... at the time they did a lot of what I try to do [today]: studies, work and projects and I don't know what else, [...] very much based on the interests they had at the time, and sometimes it was too diverse."

I propose a more detailed look at some of the productions between 1982 and 1999, mostly from T1 to T7 classes. The testifying documents suggested a generic keyword "*studies*" and two more specific ones "*animals*" and "*April 25th*". I grouped the testimonies around the first keyword under "*Small studies and experiments*" and "*Studies integrated into projects*" depending on the anchor point. The ones I identified with the second keyword can be found in "*The relationship with animals*". The third keyword groups everything referring the study of the April 1974 revolution and its history; I address it in "*Remember the April Revolution*" thus bringing to an end this section dedicated to studies and work projects at Voz do Operário da Ajuda.

Small studies and experiments

The *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school library keeps albums and projects carried out by

children in previous years, for future reference. Among them there is a set of documents closer to a schooled relation with the world. Clarisse Rosa says:

> "I remember, for example, that with this group we did a work on the regions of Portugal, and therefore they were distributed. It wasn't their proposal, it was my proposal, and then they divided according to, or by friendships, or by interests, by... the region that they liked, and then we made a presentation to the parents".

I didn't find this specific study on the regions of Portugal, but I did find others: some illustrative documents are *"The boats"*, which links a request to want to know more about the boats on Vasco da Gama's voyage; more classic, the album *"o Vidro"*, which dates from 1992, tells, based on some questions posed collectively, the history of glass, as well as the variants and manufacturing process, based on research in books from the school library and some information obtained by letter from a glass producer; another example is one of the albums about the planets, created from questions following or in preparation for a visit to the planetarium.

Some of these albums have a more original content, such as *"Crazy Animals"* which consists of a collection of caricature collages, made by the T6 class, in the 1st grade, and which combines the heads of well-known people with the drawing or collage of an animal that the children joined him. Likewise, the dictionary-album *"Means of transport designed by us"* consists of a compilation of drawings and collages by different participants to support everyone's writing.

An original document for its somewhat infantile reinvention and interpretation of children's rights, very centred on small day-to-day life accomplishments, is the album *"Rights and duties"*. A mixture of information and somewhat moralising proposals appears:

> " *Parents shouldn't boss us around; we have the right to an animal at home; it is a duty to tidy the room, when necessary; it is our duty to pay more attention to parents when they want to talk to us* ".

Other albums or projects arise from genuine observations, such as *"They are destroying the forests"* with a strong ecological concern. In that album, advice is *"don't use products that don't say 'not tested on animals' or 'no animals were sacrificed to make this product' . "*

The reasons for a one-off project are several. Remembering a classmate who had arrived from Brazil, Irene Querido comments:

> "I remember that we did a job on the Amazon: About Brazil. I no longer remember who it was, but it was with one of my colleagues, whose mother or someone else was Brazilian and so we explored Brazil, the size of Brazil, and Brasília being a city. Everything I think I still know about Brazil comes from

there. No, however I have already learned a few more things. But the notion of ... I remember us saying: "*but Monsanto is big*"[173] "*But in the Amazon fits much more than Portugal*", "*but Monsanto is so big*". But we got there. I think it was third grade, this job."

Among other documents, which arise from reading and showing or in the context of other works, there is, from the T6 class in the 1st year of schooling, *"Springtime"* based on a difficult question *"Why did Springtime begin?"*.

It provokes some strange cause-and-effect statements, such as *"Why chickens lay eggs"* leading to a discussion with the following conclusion *"Chickens lay eggs almost all year round. In spring, there are free living animals that lay eggs"* failing to consider that spawning causes the arrival of spring: *"And if one of the animals makes a mistake? Could it be that spring doesn't start on the 21st of March ? Maybe it's not because the bugs lay eggs that it's spring"*. In the end, a question remains if spring has to do with the heat and if this has to do with the sun. An experience of three girls from the same class, reproducing a situation included in a file of protocols in image and photography of the Institut Coopératif de l'École Moderne (ICEM), carried out at the same time, highlights the relationship between the earth and the sun:

"The shadow of the stick (25.03.92)
Inês, Rita and Catarina.
25.03 – 4 pm: we measure 25 – 29 palms.
26.03 – 2 pm: we measure 15 palms (we didn't cut the stick!).
26.03 – 4 pm: we measure 25 – 29 palms (did the stick grow?).
27.03 – 2 pm: we measure 14 palms; the stick spans 19 palms.
27.03 – 4 pm: we measure 30 palms; the stick continues to measure 19 palms.
We observe: the shadow is not always on the same side!"

I did not find any records of the development of the subject with this class, about exploring the evolution of the shadow during the spring and summer months, to associate spring and summer with angles of inclination of the sun's rays, as currently suggested in the French project *"la main à la pâte"* inspired by physicist Georges Charpak (1999).

From time to time the subject of how babies are born comes up, usually from direct questions or "little secrets" told among children. Thus, Milene Neves remembers her parents coming to school:

"to talk about how babies were made, and this was right in first grade (with a voice of admiration) or in pre-primary, I don't know. There was this discussion, in the whole school, it wasn't just in our classroom, and then my parents

[173] Monsanto is the biggest green area of Lisbon.

> went, or it was my father, or it was my mother, but I think it was both of them — as they were physicians — to talk about it, and I remember not quite understanding it (laughs). But I found out there was a bad word associated (laughs), which JC taught me (laughs)."

Judite Pinheiro also has memories of similar work a few years later:

> "The first sophomore work I remember was a work on how children were made. And... we realised a lot, we realised what sex was, what it wasn't, it was a little too soon, we had it around, I don't know, we had it for six, seven years. And it started, because M., a friend, a colleague too, made some very specific drawings of what the involvement of a man with a woman would be like, and then we..., it clarified for us right away, I think it was a bit like that , I remember that work very well".

Carla Brito remembers that the subject also came up in her class, with some help from her mother:

> "I remember we also did a project, I think I did a project on how babies are born, it was in third grade. I remember that my mother gave me a book, which I worked on and had to see, after presenting a work to the school to explain, explain to the rest, it was even [written] in typewriter, if I remember."

This type of work, involving someone who knows the subject, as a specialist, as a family member, or in a combination of both situations, is a characteristic that in addition to the scriptural-school relation with the world reintroduces the direct relation with whom holds knowledge, and simultaneously, is close to the group. Dora Agostinho highlights:

> "Even in work situations, we had the presence of the parents as, well, they were invited if the kids were doing studies in which the parents were knowledgeable people on the subject. They were also the ones who participated in, and cooperated with their projects."

In a way, the studies and projects begin by documenting the children's reality.
The discoveries and experiences that make information explicit and turn it knowledge (Charlot, 1997) are in large part provided by the relation that is created with the surrounding environment. It starts with what is close to each one. In kindergarten, the birthday calendar appears in the form of a bar graph. There are records of observation of animals, such as the newts that ended up in the aquarium in the classroom: *"It has 2 small holes in the snout, which is the nose. They like to be in the water, hidden in the rocks"*. In the same classroom full of provocations, a child, sitting on a rug, explores the MAB blocks and measures with its fingers a wooden plate that represents a hundred, which could lead to a discovery to be discussed with the group.

This is what some of the posters displayed on the walls of the T6 class imply. We observed a bar graph, in which each person painted their own bar, with the title *"How many people live in our house" " How many milk teeth fell out?"* or even the family trees that each one makes in their notebook.
This reality is mixed with perspectives on other realities, almost by chance. As Francisco Neto tells:

> "One thing that really impressed us was when she [Julieta] sent us a coconut, from Guinea, we tried to open the coconut, and we couldn't open the coconut, and when there we managed to open the coconut, making a hole, I remember we were all drinking from the coconut and this experience was very important."

There are records based on previous practical work, such as the album of an unknown class, probably also in the 1st year, with the title *"We made wine for real"* which reports:

> "*We make real wine.*
> *The parents sent two kilos of grapes each (page 1).*
> *We brought old clothes so we wouldn't get dirty (page 2).*
> *We changed clothes and took off our shoes (page 3).*
> *We put the grapes in a tank in the kitchen (page 4).*
> *The wine bubbled for four days (page 5).*
> *On Monday we saw Nascimento[174] put the wine in the bottles (page 6).*
> *It was enough for twenty-three bottles (page 7).*
> *We will sell the wine at our Magusto party (page 8)."*

Experience and exploration of situations exist in all domains of knowledge. Judite Pinheiro remembers

> "Another work we did, very nice, I still think it was nice, which was in pairs: we tried, touching, by touching the face, to make a mould of our face. And that's it, I remember, I remember very well, doing that, we had to do it with our eyes closed, we were going to touch each other, we were shaping it, and in the end afterwards, there was a face..."

There are reports of collective experiments of a pre-scientific nature, in an album, as in the case of *"our experiments"*. Other experiments stem from simple protocols, which the children follow, discussing the observed phenomena with the teacher and with others. The experimental activities in the first year of the T6 class there are some photographs of were probably carried out through the simple protocols already mentioned, based on photographs, and available in the classroom.

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[174] The van driver of the school

These reports are in tune with a short filmed moment in the T3 class showing a child preparing an experimental activity based on a script. In a photograph another child is working seated at a small table. The protocol is on the table, along with a battery and a plastic bottle half full of liquid. The boy is completing a report card.
Observation and data collection similarly occur during camps. In the film that follows a group of 6 children looking for information during a game of clues, at a given moment it is seen that they have to record what they found or learned, to put the terms in a crossword grid: dam, hoe, well of water, and one more, whose definition is not understood, but for which Vítor Abreu, who is part of the group, says: *"put the "a" there, this will form the secret word "garbage"*.

The relationship with animals

Animals and animal protection are often present, especially in classes where Julieta Lopes is a teacher:

> "Ah! I've always had animals. There were... soon there were animals... hamsters, then snails, [...] then guinea pigs, there were always animals. And there was a time, in the first year, [...] we bought two bunnies, a couple of bunnies."

Animals regularly appear in studies and work projects, due to their presence in the classroom, but also due to the natural curiosity manifested in the moments of discussion in the groups. It means that there is, on the one hand, studies on the fauna, outside the school. On the other hand, there is the treatment and interaction with animals, inside the school. I propose a short look at these two aspects of the zoological interest manifested among learners.

Out of school

Tomás Duarte and Judite Pinheiro, from the T5 class, refer to the work on the blue whale and the Greenpeace intervention.

> "Another thing that I also remember, it was very funny, now, there was a study that we did, a very interesting study and that undoubtedly also marks a little bit in my way of, hmm, in relation to the studies that I followed, it was a study we did about the blue whale and about endangered species, I think it was a group of four children at the time, I don't remember which group I was, [...] I remember that I really liked the work I did, and I think that the work I developed at the time, which, later on, reflected the taste I had for the natural sciences, I don't know if the interest itself was already there, but just for having done this study ,..." (Tomás Duarte)

> "I remember that Greenpeace..., I remember that was where we really wanted to go. I remember that was what I longed for, to participate when I grew up,

> to be a member of Greenpeace. Milene and I. So we had a lot of this fight for the whales, it was, it moved us." (Judith Pinheiro)

Milene Afonso attributes great importance to the same work, and considers that it was what influenced her decision-making about future studies:

> "I remember that I did a work at the time, which left an immense impression on me, and which, on my part, led me to mine, my career as an ethologist, so to speak, because we saw a video about whales and we decided to do a work on whales..."

Among the documents I did not find the work on whales, but I did find others, on turtles, crocodiles, hamsters, all of a more documentary nature and transcription of information.

There is a big difference between these studies and the work on wolves. Of this, I found two albums, one of which is mentioned by Francisco Neto and which is related to the protection of the Iberian wolf. This album includes an interview with Robert Leyle, a connoisseur of wolves, who came to talk to the group about his learning with these animals. The other album, more recent, is based on a newspaper article about the unjustified bad reputation of the wolf.

Cats are mentioned several times and for different reasons. There are albums with the story of the cat and the care to be taken with them and there is also the story that Irene Pires tells about her cats, which the school children went to visit, which led to a study:

> "and then there were my class and my middle sister [name] and I liked cats a lot and I remember that soon, in this research work — I don't know how I managed to get the story of cats in Egypt, I consulted a manual, how to own a cat — I used photographs, there it is, there was a photograph of a newborn cat, and the person holding it is a classmate of my sister [name], and then I did the illustration, in which I was the one who made my own drawings and that was it, and it was like a job that I considered very serious, of course, and that I still keep today, because of that, because I thought: 'here's a little bit of understanding how it worked [at Voz do Operário]."

inside the school

Sebastião and Belmira are certainly the most famous cats within the school. As I mentioned before, they wander around the rooms and we have several testimonies of how they installed themselves next to the children, even on top of the tables, during moments of autonomous work.

There was yet another cat living with the school, who, as Julieta Lopes refers:

> "He walked around there, he wasn't ours, but he used to go there to eat, his name was Octávio, because at that time, one of the presidential candidates

was Octávio Pato, so the kitten was Octávio."

In the period between 1992 and 1999, animals occupy an even greater place. One of the deactivated rooms — at the time there were only two class groups with children of different ages — serves as an animal treatment space. In this space there are two huge cages for rabbits and smaller cages for hamsters and guinea pigs. For a while, the children maintained an animal club. Carla Gouveia and Melissa Lousada appear at different times explaining the function of the animal club to parents and visitors, during one of the Magusto events, which basically served to raise funds for food and treatment of animals. In exchange, club members could take the animals home during weekends and school holidays. Carla Gouveia remembers this last part perfectly:

"... Also the fact that we took animals home, Serafim and Serafina, as we named the rabbits. It was also very nice, because there it is, because first, we really liked the rabbits, and then, that, once again, the responsibility, we had to know how to take care of the rabbits and that will give us a headache..., when I talk to friends those who didn't go there, there are certain things, that it was, that everything was already very mechanised, I think."

Julieta Lopes confirms:

"... So on Fridays, you only saw parents and kids going out with animals, because on Fridays, the kids signed up to take the animals home. And especially the rabbits, as they were, as they had a very large cage, [...], so it was father, mother, grandmother and grandfather and the kid all carrying the collection material for the rabbits. But it was really fun, because at four o'clock everyone started to come out with cages."

Julieta Lopes also states that there was a lot of work around animals. At the Magusto where the animal club is created, the story of the rabbits can be seen on the wall, as well as an explanatory note about the rabbits. A reference work is the story that the T7 group invents and which has the title *"the rabbit Serafim"* completed by the work *"The dwarf rabbits"* which explains how to take care of rabbits and how they communicate. This album also reports the birth of a new litter. Rita Silves, from the T7 class, mentions:

"The fact that there were animals, always being there with the animals, and we had our playground-garden, I think this influenced me in wanting to be a biologist — and it didn't change, even during school in the 9th grade when we had to decide a study area, it was always science, there was never any doubt about that. But it was also from primary school, it ended up influencing me, liking animals, wanting to treat them. That thing is not just for eating, that thing has life, and it was very important, Julieta showed that it was a living being."

In 1996, the animal club included beside the cats and the rabbits Serafim and Serafina also the dwarf pigs Telmo and Telma, the mice Micro and Nanon, the turtles Mimi and Pintas. At the end of the '90s, a space was created in the garden for the animals' cages, some of which moved to the patio, according to information given by Dora Agostinho.

Studies integrated into projects

Many of the studies are integrated into projects that are more or less prolonged in time. And they often intertwine to later gain a life of their own. Vítor Abreu remembers the fact, contrasting it with the experience of a classroom where there were no projects:

> "I also remember that in this [second] classroom... it didn't have much to do with the first one, the idea that we had [there] always many things [were] happening, side projects. I remember that we were growing some plants at that time, and that sometimes, during classes, we would talk about, analyse the growth of plants, and that I don't think it had much to do with what we were learning, but... ."

However, in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* classes highlighted here, the work projects involve language, mathematics and the interpretation of the environment. In this sense, the relation with knowledge-objects as named by Charlot (1997, p. 80) arises in a learning context, at a certain moment, in a certain space, where the objects of knowledge are objects produced by others, but also objects in production by themselves with others, making the relation with knowledge a social relationship, as the author advances (1997, p. 73).

I found in the estate some testimonies of this interaction. I refer to some that I will identify as "*language projects*" which, due to their relation with other aspects of the social meaning of language learning, I will later develop in "*The social use of knowing how to read and write*". Before that, I still dwell on what the memoirs present in relation to what I identified as "*mathematics projects*" and "*projects of interpretation of the environment*".

language projects

The language projects are of a different nature and pass, in the documents I found, through writing.

In the T6 class, while the children are in the middle of literacy work, appears in the activity book *My Book of Reading* (Gomes de Almeida and Soares, 1991) the proposal to invent a story from a represented situation. Texts appear under the title *"O Chapéu da Alice [Alice's hat]"* which was a good excuse to invite the authors of the book to the

classroom[175].

Another example is the play that the T3 class performs at school and then takes to the correspondents. It was entirely written by the group. For each act of the play, a working group presented dialogue proposals that were later discussed together and that resulted in the complete script.
It is a story set in the forest, where trees and flowers are threatened by some men wanting to burn the forest. Plants call animals to defend them from men and deforestation. They receive some support from a group of campers, and decide to organise a forest council, together with the animals, to see how they are going to do. When they realise the impotence of plants in fighting men, the spirit of the forest (excerpt from a speech by an Indian Chief about the use of the land) definitively deters them from destroying the forest. The content of the play corresponds to what was experienced, at a time of intense and very extensive forest fires, according to the information obtained, due to criminal interventions with the aim of freeing land for construction or for reforestation of fast-growing species, for paper industry.
Another language project from the same class consists of analysing one of the class' newspapers. A sketch of an unfinished article reveals an observation of a set of texts, about the use of title, typographic effects, the inclusion of name, date, and the word "*end*", as well as the printing technique and color. There is a survey of words used and it is discovered that only five of the seven texts have a word in common. Children make estimates and then check their guesses about the frequency of the most frequently used words. They note that the information collected about the newspaper under study cannot be generalised to other class newspapers.

math projects

One finds, with some frequency, documents and sequences of work in which a class or a group of children in the class explore problematic situations. One of the films presents, for example, a discussion around maps, another, a search for numbers using Papy's mini calculator or even a logical problem about parents and children, solved together. Without considering that they are mathematical projects, there is great attention to the creation of mathematical work situations.
The invention of problems is another activity that runs through the whole period observed by Voz do Operário da Ajuda, from 1985 to 1999.
Francisco Neto, from the T1 class says:

> "I remember a crazy Belgian, an "extranaut" showing up there [...] so funny, I thought it was funny, with a strange accent, and throwing us challenges [...],

[175] See below, *"Communication and the study of writing "* .

> look, I think there was one about the tram. You had to take the tram, and you didn't really know, and it had to do with timetables, and money for tickets, you set up a situation there, and then none of that was a made-up situation, it was a concrete thing, which we had to help you resolve. And I remember we liked that, every now and then you would show up there, with a challenge, coming by parachute, out of nowhere, and I remember we were on break outside, ... hey man, we have to help Pascal, ... hey man, come play football, ... no, no, wait a minute, we have to manage to solve this problem for Pascal, because if he doesn't go away and he doesn't manage to, ... I remember people involved a lot in your problems."

But the class itself also invented problems. Among the documents I found a set of quite classic statements, produced among all, such as:

> *"Mr Manuel bought a van that measures 2.5 meters. A month later, he sold it to his neighbour for half the price: 979,000$00. How much had the van cost? Frederico, Marta, Marco"*

There are other records of this type, such as an identification and classification of packages according to weight, capacity or liquid content, probably from class T3. Other situations were included in a publication of mathematical dialogues with children (Narciso and Paulus, 2006).

At least two groups present actions prolonged in time, around a problem that is approached mathematically and that I designate here as a mathematics project.

The mathematical research work carried out with the T7 class (Paulus, 1999) reveals this characteristic of the project. With some guiding lines, inspired by Enzenberger's (1998) ***"The number Devil"*** provocations, for six months the class researched regularities and situations that were easy for children of that age to understand. Challenges were left to be explored and discussed from week to week.

The fascination with LOGO programming on the part of many students in the T3 class, as well as on my part, has provoked moments of intense discussions around logical concepts, positioning in the Cartesian plane, negative numbers and decimals. The very rapid evolution of technology makes it is no longer possible to view products, stored on floppy disks, in experimental LOGO versions, on operating systems that have fallen into disuse. This is the case of the aforementioned game of glory for the turtle, described in *"le jeu de João"*. Other games were made with the same group, one of which led to a live simulation, involving everyone. A classic logic problem was recreated in LOGO programming and discussed with the class: if there is, among nine bags of gold coins, one bag with fake coins and therefore with more or less weight than the other eight, how to identify the false bag in just three weighings? As it had been relatively easy to resolve the situation, Diogo Garcia

insisted on programming the turtle to perform the task. Programming became complex and to better understand some logical operators, as well as the role of local and global variables in programming and the way in which programming modules are interconnected, the simulation imposed itself and was filmed. In an open space representing the "screen" with the scales and bags of coins, Diogo acts like a turtle, carrying out the orders given to him by each of the programmers: the class is seated around him and chains the procedures together, doing better understand how the turtle works. After the simulation, there is a short discussion, in which the "*invisible*" procedures are explained: the constitution of variables and the substitution of information to the blocks that contain them, given through the keyboard.

Part of Irene Querido's memoirs is the immense work with the computer, often in small groups, to explore the clues left over from the collective discussions. This reinforces:

> "I remember when we were like that, I have more memories of the computer, or other things, I know we weren't all of them, there it is, I know there were smaller groups [...]. We had activities divided into different things, and maybe I was more fascinated with the computer (laughs)."

The ability to understand variables and the external information incorporated will make possible the aforementioned investigation into what influences the speed of a car on an inclined plane. This will continue, when the influence of a motor is measured both on the ascent and descent of an inclined plane, which obliges to place an electric wire to slide with the car, without interfering with the measurement.

Environmental interpretation projects

I already mentioned, in the previous point, the existence of many documents in the library of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, made at the school itself. They are small surveys based on questions often included on the first pages of the document in question and based on readings or interviews.

Thus we find in class T2 a list of work in progress: prehistory, hunger, space (x 2), the human body, reptiles, cats. In one of the photographs we see one of the authors of the project on prehistory completing the timeline, while another illustrates the presentation of a project in the basement. As Clarisse Rosa explains:

> "... the study of the environment resulted a lot from the project work, the works were therefore developed in projects, in groups. They did the investigations and searches there and whatever, and then basically the presentation, which was also a collective one, but they were the ones who presented it and I guided that presentation a little. So there was a role there, at that moment also more important, more of organising [...] the lines and

trying to capture what was most important in what they said."

Perhaps less classic are the works carried out by the T1 group. One, from 1987, with the title *"our work on nature"* is based on news of the killing of flamingos by hunters in the Tagus estuary, leading to three working groups, *"The River Tagus"* *"Pollution"* and *"Protection of species"* a group for which Francisco Neto assumes responsibility.
This work includes interviews with the ***"Os Verdes"*** political party, another one with me about work in nature reserves. Of the planned activities *"ask people to come talk to us, visit the exhibition of the Indians of Brazil, observe nature, look for information in books, newspapers and magazines, write texts, write a story and make an album"* the interviews, the organisation of the text and the organisation of the album were visible. The work *"The River Tagus"* by the same group, dates from 1988 and takes up more in-depth subjects related to the river and pollution control.
Raul Bento mentions the frequent use of sources outside the school:

> "I remember our preparation for our trip to Belgium, having to go and sent the mail, it would be close to the school, I don't remember, but I remember leaving school to do that. I remember a study visit I made, I think it was with Diogo Garcia, here at Egas Moniz. It was in the part of tropical medicine, but I no longer know in what scope this was."

As noticed from other situations, special attention is given to the presentation of the work carried out. A series of photographs from 1991 shows the T4 class, presenting their work to the fathers and mothers. They show the children standing and sitting, alternating, in front of the board, while the parents, seated at the work tables, follow the presentations.

Transversal projects

About the European Economic Community

One of the albums produced by the T3 class, as part of their correspondence with the Belgian group, consists of a set of information about countries of the then European Economic Community, referred to here as the Common Market. In the school's collection remained a copy of the original handed over to the correspondents, as seen in one of the videos.
Diogo Garcia tells about this project:

> "I don't remember if the work on the EEC was associated or not [with correspondence]. I remember that it was about the EEC and that each group was about a country. No more. I remember It was a big thing that took a lot of work."

The work was done two years before the public birth of the *World Wide Web*, so to produce that document it was necessary to resort, by telephone and by letter, to

cultural services from embassies, since the school library did not have the sources of information needed to answer the questions the group wanted answered. This is what Diogo Garcia also memorised:

> "I did about Germany, if I'm not mistaken. Yes, it was about Germany that I made. [...] I remember that for that work I went looking for things, I went to the German embassy, with my father, ..."

The album's index refers to the countries treated and who was responsible for doing so: *B – Belgium – S.*, *S.*; *D – Germany – D.G.*, *R.*; *E – Spain*, *I.*, *R*, and so on. In addition to the aforementioned countries, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal are included and there is still a presentation of Europe and the common market. On the page following the index we read:

> "*When we started looking for support for our voyage to Belgium, the willing to know more about the EEC arose. We wrote a letter to all the embassies of the EEC member countries The embassies of Great Britain, Ireland, Luxembourg and Denmark did not respond. Therefore, we were unable to gather information about these countries. We regret that we were unable to complete our study. The authors*"

For each country presented, there is a set of common questions, completed by additional information that was ascertained through the documentation received. Thus, for Germany, for example, first there is the common information: the map, the capital, the identification of the country on the cars, the currency, the flag, one of the most important rivers, the city (or region) larger in extension and in inhabitants, a typical dish, the "national drink", the most important borders, what people usually do on weekends, the most used medicines.

Next, there is information arising from reading the available documentation. Also in the case of Germany, there is a reference to the beaches most frequented by Germans (which, at the time were not located in Germany but in Portugal), the president, what is most expensive in everyday life, the most common professions. There is also a note announcing that the most important European airport at the time was Frankfurt airport. Finally, there is a reference to the industrial fair in Hanover.

The work was presented to the correspondents. Following the presentation, the Portuguese group visited the Berlaymont building, where they allowed themselves to be photographed in front of the main door, to later have a conversation with a Portuguese representative. He defined Europe first as a continent, and secondly as a set of countries. To the question *"What is common between the people of Europe?"* the Portuguese host assures that *Christianity* is a common link, to later reveal that what brought Europe together was its *economic reconstruction*, after the second world war. He announces the parity between the currencies that one day will lead to a common currency, as a symbol of sovereignty. He uses this idea to explain the difference

between the EEC and the UN. It was clear that the perspectives, which stand out from the study carried out by the group, were of differences and diversity between the countries and people of the countries they studied, while the perspective of the Portuguese representative was of centralised power, uniformity, economic normalisation and sovereignty.

After cutting down the fig tree

The document *"After the fig tree was cut down, a lot happened!!!"* and written by Julieta Lopes, reports a two-year process of linking studies carried out by groups T5 and T6. She explains how the studies with the titles *"Nature", "Study Paradise — dream island" "And the carnations fell free" "Before and after, through the ages, from time to time things change" "Lisbon, not only but also" and " Alentejo, a remote hope"* follow one another, which allows, during the two years, to develop a very rich program that closely follows the curriculum to which the State obliges. What makes Judite Pinheiro say:

> "It seems to me that when we were doing something, we were always continuing... doing the work."

Milene Afonso especially fixes the beginning of this cycle with the mutilated tree:

> "In fact, the truth is that the space of the tree, became much smaller, isn't it, therefore, euh... and so that later gave rise to one, I think it was in the third grade, now thinking about it, this gave rise to origin to a work, mainly developed by Tiago, on trees, he made a herbarium. [...] We did a work because of that, [we went] very angry to the class room and Julieta. We no longer knew what to do. We were inconsolable, we cried, we told the gentlemen that they weren't going to cut the tree, that we were going to make a protest, (laughs), a protest not to cut the tree, well, we tried to do some things, basically, the result was a work. The tree was still cut down, but that's it, it [had] to be, but we didn't find the issue very funny."

The work which Milene Afonso refers to and which results from this first reaction, explains the treatment of trees, involves interviews with Quercus, visits to the tropical and botanical gardens, but also establishes a relation with the problems of pollution and the protection of threatened animal species. That is why in conversation with the people of Quercus, the possibility of visiting Berlenga Island arises. I have already discussed the two camps[176], portrayed in *"Study paradise — dream Island"* and *"Alentejo a remote hope"* and which, for Julieta Lopes, are part of this set of works. The album *"And the carnations fell free"* also appears with the same group, which evokes the April 1974 revolution and the visit to the Peniche fort.

[176] See *"Berlenga, Peniche, Alvito, Arrábida"*

Milene Afonso alludes to another work of this set, before the Alvito camp:

> "... I don't know if it was the history of the first republic, I don't know exactly what the subject of the work was, I remember several things we did, but I don't remember exactly the work, which is a bit strange."

This work is entitled *"Before and after, over time, from time to time things change"* and portrays the governance at school and at the institution Voz do Operário. It also makes a historical review of the government of the country before the monarchy, during the monarchy, after the 5th of October 1910, during the time of fascism, and after the 25th of April 1974. It addresses the government of local power, focusing on the parish council of Ajuda and the Lisbon City Council. It also focuses on the assembly of the republic and ends with a note about the *"Norton de Matos"* campaign. Julieta Lopes shows that the intention here is to talk about power:

> "All. Elections, municipalities, everything (pause). Even power, I studied power in Portugal, from the current one, it was from an election. Starting from the current, we went backwards, as far as interesting, the middle ages, or something like that."

The work was in fact developed from a question about the meaning of the 5th of October.

At the end of February, the work on Lisbon is organised, with visits planned for five successive weeks, to the castle of São Jorge and the viewpoints around the castle, to the Carmo Barracks, as well as to the convent, the elevator and downtown. The third week was dedicated to the Alcântara dock, the Tagus and the shipyards, with an interview with a councillor from the Lisbon City Council and the ecologists. This was followed by a visit to modern Lisbon, Areeiro and the new avenues, involving a study of the map of Lisbon. In the last of these five weeks of visits, an aerial visit was planned, by plane, from the Tires aerodrome. It allowed the class to finish the work just in time to organise Alvito's camp. The result of this study of Lisbon appears on the album *"Lisbon, not only but also"*.

During the day organisation of March 2, 1994, Julieta Lopes recalls the work that had to be done, asking to finalise the album on power in the time that was already foreseen to outline the study on Lisbon, which would give rise to the work plan that I have already mentioned[177]. Here Julieta talks about who is already taking care of the visit by plane. Therefore, it seems convenient that each one already knows which group they will be in, because, even if the visits are for everyone, each group would have to focus on the issues that were left to deal with. In the album, the visit by plane is highlighted, with reports such as:

[177] See page 268

> *"On Tuesday we went for a flight by plane. I had my ears plugged the whole trip. And I saw: Praça do Comércio, Praça da Figueira, our school, Castelo de São Jorge, the Tagus and the national stadium. I really liked it, but at first I was afraid and in the end I wanted more. I would love to ride a plane more often." (I.P.)*

In this set of reports there is also one by Ricardo Azevedo who writes:

> *"I enjoyed flying by plane. I saw the castle of S. Jorge, the walls, the people and I saw the Tower of Belém. The plane went up. I liked that part going up and down and I got really scared and said: - oh my stomach is turning."*

The album, from which photographs were taken, also contains a page with images of the departures and arrivals of the plane and two pages with aerial photographs of the Belém area.

The school as an object of study

At least two albums evoke the school itself as an object of study. The first, which dates from 1989 and which I have already mentioned, portrays the pedagogical project of Voz do Operário da Ajuda, told by children and adults. In this collective work, management of time, room and space in the school in general is addressed, then focusing on work in the area of the mother tongue, mathematics, the study of the environment, as well as interaction with children with special educational needs who are part of the educational community. It also dedicates some pages to working with computers. This 55-page A4 brochure was contributed by all classes, among them the T3 and T4 classes.

The brochure was launched with an exhibition organised to accompany its preparation, showing the writing plan and some unused material, such as an invented collective history, posted on one of the basement walls, accompanied by more albums on a table. Fathers and mothers can be seen consulting the brochure in front of another display, also in the basement, which brings together the various cover proposals. Another photograph shows two exhibitors gathering information regarding correspondence, as well as an example of a small study, having as its theme the origin of paper.

In a different way, the T5 and T6 classes present the album *"A history of our school"* divided into two parts. The first part tells the story of the Ajuda palace and the kings who used it until the establishment of the republic. It makes a connection to the collection of coaches and the respective museum, and then introduces the history of the patio, which includes the school building. It explains how a descendant of a couple who went to live in the house at the suggestion of Queen D. Maria Pia (from 1862 to 1889) rented part of the house to a teacher who in turn had a contract with the *Voz do Operário*, receiving children that the institution sent her in return of money. She

donated the school license to the same Voz do Operário when she ceased activity. An exhibition was organised around the album. An exhibitor presents a panel that tells the story of the patio attached to the palace of Ajuda. It is understood that there is a guided tour of the exhibition. In one of the photographs we see a child giving information to an adult. In another image, mothers are seen consulting workbooks displayed on a table. Among them, we observe Carla Gouveia with her mother. At the end of the exhibition, introducing the aforementioned work on Lisbon, there is a poster announcing *"There are adventurers who venture out on adventures every year... That's us"*.

Remembering the April revolution

> "What did we do? (pause) Carnations, and we were looked up a lot of publicity that came with the 25th of April, at the time, I think that was it, more... then we put up posters, we put in phrases. We made drawings about it. What I remember most... and we painted the school, yes, about what the 25th of April brought, messages about the 25th of April" (Judith Pinheiro).

While fifteen of the interviewed former students from different classes talk about studies in general, nine specifically focus on works around the Carnation Revolution and the passage from the *Estado Novo* to the regime of representative democracy. I found nine albums, from different eras, that tell the story of the 25th of April, almost all from classes taught by Julieta Lopes. The Municipality of Lisbon published in 1999, as part of the 25th anniversary of the 25th of April, a work by the children of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* drawn and told in 1992. Like another work, where plants are the protagonists of the story, here, too, the authors gave prominence to plants living in a garden where an increasingly unbearable gerbera assembles an army of gerbera, ending up trapping flowers and animals. The rest of the flowers went looking for the lawn shears in town. They hid the scissors, to give the carnations, who had volunteered for the job, time to organise themselves to cut the first gerbera. The others fled and there was peace again in the garden (Voz do Operário da Ajuda, 1999)[178]. The other notebooks alluding to the carnation revolution are divided between collective histories and research and documentation work. The stories include *"A 25 de Abril"* from 1988, produced by the T1 group, *"It was possible to dream the impossible"* from 2001 produced by a group that Julieta Lopes accompanied for two years, after the T7 group *"A 25th of April ... happened in the world of plants"* without a date or visible group and *"We don't want the Carabão boss"* produced by the 1st grade in

[178] In the original version, which I couldn't find, the increasingly unbearable flower was a rose, transformed into a gerbera for the published version. The teachers at the time said that while the rose was a flower known to children and the gerbera was not, it was difficult for a socialist council to assume an unbearable rose, cut by carnations...

1985. In fact says Jorge Carvalho as the date approached:

> "All the drawings [were] around the 25th of April, because the school was very connected... there were always some lectures, and some elderly gentlemen were invited who would come and talk to us about what had happened in the days of the PIDE[179], the prisons, mainly the value of freedom, I think that was more, more emphasised, ... [...]
> Afterwards, I don't remember if we did some work or not, but the 25th of April, there at the school, was celebrated, and it was well, it was well marked."

Testimonials were highly valued. Fernanda Queirós, who started school when Jorge Carvalho left *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* for the 5th grade, also has memories of people who came to school to tell how they had spent their days in prison:

> "L., I remember the stories of L.'s grandmother, I remember her a lot and for example, at the time of the 25th of April, she told us stories, hmm, about her experience in prison, right? "

I found *" April 25th... a story not to forget",* a retelling, without a source, without a date and without a group, and also *"We asked , some adults answered"*. This consists of a small document of testimonies by adults, transformed into a class album. As we have already seen, the school had a positive response to an interview request addressed to Álvaro Cunhal. From his intervention, an album was made with the title *"Summary of what Álvaro Cunhal told us"* although without date or class.
The album *"And carnations fell in freedom"* brings another perspective. Here are the testimonies of parents and grandparents of those who attended the 3rd or 4th grade in 1993. It also includes a letter addressed to the then president of the republic, who never replied, and about which Judite Pinheiro speaks:

> "Oh, I waited for the letter every day, I went to see if the letter had arrived, but it never arrived. (laughs) It never came, but I really believed it... I happened to dislike Mário Soares at that point. (laughs) It was something that made me hate him. (laughs) But that's it, it's over."

The document includes sixteen testimonies and stories from mothers, fathers, grandparents or uncles, one of the grandmothers speaking of her father who had been arrested for being involved with the ***"revolt of the sailors"***. Reading these testimonies, a list of words or concepts that were unknown to the authors of the work emerges: *"coup d'état, revolution, political regime, colonial war, solidarity, dictatorship, democracy, fascism, oppress/repress and censor "* which are all made explicit before drawing conclusions from the work carried out.
Carla Garcia says:

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[179] The PIDE was the Secret police of the *Estado Novo*

> "I remember the [works] about the 25th of April. Over all, it was cute. I remember going in the vans and we all sang *Grândola Vila Morena*[180] (laughs) oh, my god! It was funny."

Vítor Abreu associates the date with the celebrating demonstration:

> "I remember the demonstrations we went to, although it is no longer a school subject, but I remember it quite well, even this is something that continued after we left *Voz do Operário* and that whenever I went to the demonstration of the 25th of April, I met everyone there."

Milene Afonso and Carla Garcia remember an exhibition, in Graça, which the second describes like this:

> "Another thing that really impressed me was Graça's Voz do Operário, from time to time we would go there, we never got to go to the festivities, later when I found out that Graça had festivities, I was so disappointed that I had never gone, hmm. It was done, on the 25th of April, at that time it was funny, because there were many initiatives, many celebrations were made, for many years. So, VO of Graça, with a group of actors, I don't know if you remembers it or not, a group of actors, simulated a series of situations with the PIDE. So, we went on a journey, right, and we had actors behind bars, right, political prisoners, there were a series of situations, but they were actors that scared a lot, I internalised very well, even today, what a feeling was, of the people, with the PIDE."

One of the filmed documents is almost entirely dedicated to the theme. We see an explanation by Julieta Lopes to kindergarten children. Next, she presents recent history, between the implantation of the republic, the installation of the new state and the April revolution, for the more grown-ups. The same document continues to bear witness to the visit to the exhibition that year in the basement. There is also a document produced by the T4 group, entitled *"25th Abril"* which reports the events based on a recording of a collective conversation in the room, to fix everything that was already known. Afterwards, a series of questions arise that guide a collection of information in books and newspapers of the time.

There were years April 25 of 1974 was evoked with an exhibition or with some songs or short plays. One of these evocations appears in a film where a musical moment frames an exhibition, in the basement of the school. This evocation is from 1994 but Sheila Castro speaks of the year 1991 in which she was on Voz do Operário da Ajuda:

> "I remember the 25th of April. Instead of just talking about history and music, as we did at the other school, we sang, and acted, and went a little further, it

[180] A popular song made song of the revolution as it had been the sign on the radio that the military coup was to go forward.

> was more interesting. There were always new things, the theater, I remember we were singing *A Gaivota*, so there was always something new, there was no boredom..."

Francisco Neto recalls another, more musical moment, due to his work with the music teacher in 1988 and later on, in the interview, he continues:

> "Therefore, the question of dictatorship versus democracy, the differences, and I remember that we did a lot of theater, a lot of research, a lot of illustrations, study visits, people who went to school there, talking."

Which corresponds to what Clarisse Rosa says:

> "We also did a work on the 25th of April, but that was customary, it had to be done (laughs), it was always done. And maybe they even don't remember it."

But no, approximately half of the interviewed group remember works about that commemoration. There was at that time certainly a very great interest in fixing the memory of this period. For Carla Gouveia, this interest in the memory of gaining freedom of expression is congruent with the experience of argumentation and freedom of expression in the classroom and at school:

> "The issue of the 25th of April, the issue of claiming when we thought we didn't..., Julieta was always like that, if we thought we didn't agree, that there was one thing, we should always say, and fight and... therefore this kind of things that are driven later on lead to us taking on a path. There are some who follow the same path, there are others who don't, others don't agree very well, but yes, it was a bit there, I don't know."

In fact, there seems to be here a conceptual relation between the study of freedom of expression, the organisation of power, with regard to class management and learning, as we saw in the previous subchapter dedicated to the relation with power, in the school shape of *Voz of Operário da Ajuda* and a possibility of experiencing "*citizenship-in-the-act*" with the instituting power (Oury) of the cooperation council.

Here I tried to give relief to of the aspects that, according to Filomena Serralha, marks work guided by the group and not by curricular prescription. The author states that it is in these situations that

> *"Contrary to what usually happens, here the curriculum only appears after the fact, because what is substantial are the children's projects"* (2009, p. 22).

Having a group that meets to work together, it is possible to create a workspace that is organised according to this same group, instituting the space and the rules in it, instead of subjecting itself to external rules. In this space-time, adults and children appropriate the curriculum to which the state links the school, and simply are not hostages to it, because, as a group, they learn to manage it.

The group seeks a relation with knowledge, appropriating information while each one builds own knowledge, which is considered more important than responding to a normative order.
As to be seen the learning of written language, a cultural instrument that allows the interpretation of the world, also implies an interaction — writing — with language itself.

The social use of reading and writing

The questions

What does mean the social use of knowing how to read and write at *Voz do Operário* in the analysed period? What does the documentary collection reveal in relation to the social use of knowing how to write?
The analysis of documents shows that the process of learning to read and write, in this way of doing school, is linked to the experiences of children in their day-to-day lives, inside and outside school. The testimonies reveal a written practice oriented towards the dissemination of authentic cultural products, supported by work processes. There are also activities for internal consumption, with the production of materials that only reveal use within the classroom, using some instruments adapted for school use.
In *"We write what we say, we read what was said"* I discuss the first steps in writing and reading in Voz do Operário da Ajuda, looking at the testimonies that gave rise to the keywords *learning to read" "text notebook" "development of writing" and "writing — letter".*
In a second point "*Communication and the study of writing*" I approach the communication circuits created and the study of writing that communication implies, based on what I was able to observe in this field and which gave rise to the keywords "*Journal of the class" "free text" "texts" "text work".*

We write what we say, we read what was said

In one of his texts recently collected in book, Sérgio Niza writes:

> *"In the early days of access to learning to read, it was through the writing of oral texts with which we expressed ourselves that a functional decipherment was activated resulting from the back and forth between the encoding and decoding processes that operated dynamically. The production of writing imposes its simultaneous reading on whoever writes. During their learning process, it is the activity of writing that builds reading"* (2012, p. 533).

This is a text from 2005, but by the end of the '70s of the last century, it had become clear among MEM practitioners that the writing of the speech of the group members facilitates reading. What the group has to say is unequivocally the emancipatory

starting point for the coding and decoding of oral language. It seems to me that this process of interaction between writing and reading was assumed, in Voz do Operário da Ajuda in the '80s.

Develop writing

The writing and reading process developed in the T6 class, of which I was a teacher, was based on everything that was dictated to me. The class diary recorded the notices presented by the children in the first months of work. Thus we see, on September 17 of 1991:

"André: I went on vacation to a friend's house. We rode the bike.
João Paulo: My father went to fix my bicycle.
Tiago: My grandmother went on vacation and so did I.
Catarina: I have a tooth coming out.
Ana Sofia: My backpack has a little dog and a pink bow.
Inês: I went to the campsite with Dora."

This set of notices contains the first mono-phrase text used to make the first reading book (see next point). Every day there is the routine of spoken and transcribed notices, but on October 2nd a new proposal appears: children are invited to write the notice they want to tell, as they can and want to. Approximations to the alphabetic code appear, but also scribbles, single words, letters that relate to what is said. Underneath the writings, the transcription of the adult can be seen. These documents show the evolution of everyone's writing, at the rate of one or two work sessions per week, during the first two terms of that school year. It is about writing inwards, apparently with the meaning of being notices one wants to share with others. Of course there are not always notices from each of the children in the class. The *"first notebooks"* of Miguel, Gonçalo and Inês remained in the document archive. These notebooks, made up of sheets of continuous paper used for dot-matrix printers, separated by perforation, and reused, illustrate the initiation of writing but also the analysis of single-sentence texts. The first sheet contains the child's own name and the names of some colleagues, presumably those who are part of the first working group. There is also a handwritten transcription of the phrase *"I went to the campsite with Dora"* in each of the three notebooks, suggesting that this is a collective writing exercise. The phrase appears again, printed with the school press, cut into strips and pasted in order, also in the three notebooks, and illustrated. From then on, the notebooks are not identical. But they show the writing of other reference phrases and the collage of printed texts cut into words. The initiation process of decoding texts is based on information from learners, dictated to the teacher in the first instance.
Judite Pinheiro, from the T5 class, has a working memory of this type:

> "I remember very little. I remember the first year, there was a class. I remember a graphic diary, a diary, a daily notebook, where we wrote, the work was always to write a sentence from our day-to-day. And we got there and we always read the sentence. There it was... I still have this notebook, I think, it's amazing. And that's it, then we made the drawing to illustrate the sentence, but that was in the first year."

In addition to the analysis of single-phrase information, there was in this T6 class, from the beginning, an appeal to invent stories. In the first half week of classes, several appear, which remain in another album made up of sheets of continuous paper for dot matrix printers, with the title *"Stories invented da first half week of classes "*
The stories are:

"Once upon a time there was a princess who walked
with her son in a pram.
The mother was pushing.
They went to the park for a little swing
and it's over.
Fernando, 17.09.91

There once was a horse.
The king was on top of him.
The king went to the castle.
His son turned years old.
Miguel, 17.09.91.

The prince walked
by horse. He found a wolf.
Antonio, 17.09.91.

A boat
The boat sank.
The doctors come. They pulled the boat.
Antonio, 20.09.91.

The princess has been kidnapped by the evil king.
Then the prince came and fell from his horse.
He sent a message.
The king was sick. It was for the princess.
Tiago, 20.09.91

There once was a horse. There was a girl on top.
It was called Fire Horse. The girl's name was Catarina.
André and John Paul

In the class collection, I found eighty-one books produced by 16 children, some

written in pairs or three, between September 1991 and March 1992:
Once upon a time and that's it (Inês and Catarina); *The dog's birthday* (Marta); *Ticket with history* (correspondent Inês); *The machine factory* (Jorge); *The crazy cat* (Inês); *The Care Bears* (unnamed); *The Care Bears* (unnamed); *The Care Bears* (Tânia); *The Care Bears* (Tânia and Helena); *The cat and the house* (Rita); *The Care Bears* (Catarina and Tânia); *The dog and the house* (Catarina, Sofia, Inês); *The dog and the cat* (Rita, Inês); *The mother and the baby*; *The dog* (no name); *The little bear* (Tânia and Catarina); *The girl, the boy and the mother and friend* (no name); *The dog and the cat* (Inês); *The King, the Queen and the Sun* (Catarina, Inês); *The turtle* (Inês and Catarina); *The Queen and the Princess* (Catarina, Inês); *Several days in the garden* (Vitor); *The hospital and the owners* (Catarina, Inês); *The dead wolf* (João); *The farm and the girl* (Catarina); *The Big Bad Wolf* (Antonio); *The rainbow for the flowers* (Helena); *The Princess and the Prince* (Marta); *The Little Mermaid* (Rita); *The twins* (Rita); *Sleeping Beauty* (Rita); *The flowers* (Rita); *Rita and the mouse* (Rita); *The princess* (João Paulo); *The crazy pirates* (André); *The king and princess who wanted an animal* (André); *The numbers and the prince* (André); *A Bart Simpson story* (André and João); *The Turtles go to the mainland* (João Paulo); *the armed forces* (Andre); *Booklet without title* (João Paulo); *The imagined codfish* (Ricardo); *Codfish* (Ricardo); *untitled* (Ricardo)*; Booklet without title* (João Paulo, Catarina, Inês); *A Day in the Jungle* (Vitor); *Parents and children with very fast cars* (Vitor); *The Ninja Turtles* (Vitor); *Once upon a time there was a dog* (António); *The story of the puppet* (António); *The story of a doll* (Antonio); *Booklet without title* (António); *Robot Pipoque* (Tiago); *When Leonardo was making the pizzas* (Tiago); *A story for you to invent* (João); *The Robot* (Jorge); *Once upon a time there was a princess who walked in the woods* (nameless); *Story without words* (without name); *The bees and the teddy bear and the magic flying pony* (no name); *the haunted castle* (unnamed); *The princess* (unnamed); *The teddy bear and the bees* (unnamed); *The missing dolphin* (Catarina and Inês); *The four brothers and mother Simpson (Inês and* Catarina); *The Little Mermaid* (Inês and Catarina); *The Princess and the Rain* (unnamed); *The Elephant* (unnamed); *The girl and the horse* (Catarina and Inês); *The dog and the animals* (Inês); *The two Koalas* (Ana Sofia); *The twins* (Tânia); *The Girl* (Ana Sofia); *The girl **Catarina*** (Ana Sofia); *The Girl and the Snail* (Tânia and Ana Sofia); *The prince and the princess* (Tânia and Catarina); *untitled* (Tânia); *The puppy's birthday* (Tânia); *The mermaid* (Tânia); *The Rainbow Lake Pool ...* (Fernando); *The witch and the ants and the bees* (Fernando); *The sea octopus* (no name, probably Fernando's); *The hearts down to the colours* (Fernando).
Some write more than others. In the estate were: five stories by Ana Sofia, André, João and António; sixteen by Catarina; four by Fernando, Tiago and Vítor; three by Ricardo; fifteen by Inês; eight by Rita; ten by Tânia; two by Helena, Jorge and Marta, and there are also 13 booklets with no registered author's name.
Vítor Abreu seems to have written two stories between October and December. I

reproduce one here:

Several days in the garden

When the girl left the house, she went for a walk in the garden.
Suddenly, when a wolf appeared, the girl went home in fear.
A flower and a giant flower appeared.
The flowers trapped the girl.
A fairy appeared and saved the girl.
The girl went to dinner and it smelled burnt
because the toast was already all black.
The girl ate the fruit and went to bed and
the story is over.

Ricardo Azevedo was also the author of two stories in this first period of work:

The imagined cod

Once upon a time there was a cod that lived in the hive.
The bees stung him.
He was in great pain.
In order not to be stung, he wore a coat.
Walking, he went to a house full of bad wolves.
The wolves ate him. They swallowed head and tail.

The cod

Once upon a time there was a doll.
Then comes a crocodile that bit the doll's mouth.
Help!
Then comes a prince.
He won a prize: Snow White.
The cod ate a fish.
Then I wrote a book at school. He also wrote the alphabet.
I said to the cod:
a B C D E F G H I J K L M N O p Q R S t U v w x y z
Then I counted the numbers:
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27 29 50.

From the same class I also found *"our first spell-book"* with lists of words[181] that were presumably displayed on the wall for some time, as we can see in some images from classes T2 and T7. There are lists with words with -ão, -am-, -an, -ar, ca-, br-,

[181] The lists are of course directed to the decoding of Portuguese written language.

ch-, com, con-, cl-, -ça, -ei-, -ei, -em, -en -, es-, -eu, h-, -in-, -iu, -im, -lha, -lho, na- and -na, -nha, -nho, nu-, -om-, -on-, -ou, pa-, pr-, -qu-, -rr-, -ta, ta- and -ta-, -ui-, vi- and -va.
The texts that did not remain in a booklet and that appear in the children's individual notebooks reveal the incentive for experimentation, before arriving at the systematic study of the written code. Thus, in manuscript can be found the experimenting with different types of letters: *"Eu fui pacear a casa da Patrícia"* ***(transcription ipsis verbis)***, *"Era uma vez uma cadelinha e um cão que ereo namorados. No um dia o cão e a cadelinha caso se e ficarao moetos felisese para sepere. T."* (***transcription ipsis verbis***).
This systematic study starts early. I didn't find much material from other classes, but there is a work situation with Julieta Lopes, filmed with the T7 class on October 20, 1995, where the children go looking for the way to write 'horse' (cavalo), at the suggestion of one of the classmates. The CVAL proposal appears. Julieta says that something is missing to make the word CAVALO. Someone replies: *"letters are missing"*. Julieta asks who puts more letters. Meanwhile, she places a cork board on the board, reproducing the word CVAL with movable letters. Rita Silves comes to help Julieta and says she has to go get more letters. When Julieta asks which letters, Rita stands in front of the board and changes CVAL to CAVL. Meanwhile Melissa Lousada says from the back of the room *"but one letter is missing"*. The video is cut and when image comes back CVALO appears. The discussion goes in the direction of opening a space between C and VALO. Meanwhile, Rita, already with the A in her hand, is going to place it between the C and the V. A passage with the camera through the room shows an attentive group, facing the board, with laughter and spontaneous observations.
In class T2, in an image of the council chairman's table, a table can be observed with a systematisation exercise for writing the nasalisation of vowels, using -m- or -n- depending on the consonant that follows. It is not possible to understand if the words come from a word survey, done with the children, or if the words were taken from texts. It is perhaps the attention paid to regularities in lists of words that makes Fernanda Queirós remember a discovery she made as a child:

> "I remember Dora teaching the quotient, in the third year, it was very fun to learn, more because it was the only word I knew that had "UO", I remember that because, I think that when I visited her, I told her about it."

Developing reading

In class T6, the reading and writing process was clearly triggered from reference phrases, chosen successively by the group, as shown in the notebook where the "novelties" of telling and showing were noted. In the collection I found 14 reference

phrases from a presumed set of sixteen[182]:

I went to the campsite with Dora. Inês, 17.09.91
I'm growing a tooth. Catarina, 19.09.91
I bought a sticker and won a prize. João Paulo, 25.09.91
My mother is ill. She can't go to work. André, 1.10.91
I saw the Voz do Operário Van. Rita, 8.10.91
I went swimming. I saw my father. George, 16.10.91
I played with the Lego and I made a wagon. Victor, 22.10.91
Our car has an alarm. He makes noise. Catherine, 29.10.91
When I got home I fell asleep on the couch. Then I helped my mother. Fernando, 5.11.91
I've already sprouted three teeth without any falling out. Tânia, 12.11.91
My mother has a new car. It's a Volkswagen. Ricardo, 19.11.91
I went to play with my cousin and then I went to the mainland. Helena, 26.11.91
The home phone rang. Two policemen, cousins of the mother, appeared. Ana Sofia, 03.12.91
The day before yesterday I saw MacGyver and then I saw the news. Tiago, 10.12.91
I went to the doctor. Then we took the prescription to the pharmacy. Martha, 12/17/91

Carla Brito (class T3), who learned to read the same way, explains:

> "I don't remember learning, I don't remember specifically, how they taught me to read, I don't remember how, I just remember that little by little I learned...".

In the T6 class, the first reading book for the class consists of compiling all the texts, which were displayed in the classroom with the identification of the reference words, which were used for syllabic analysis and to create the word lists which served as the basis for all the systematisation work that takes place more intensively between September and February.

The words taken from the reference phrases are kept in envelopes and allow phrase reconstruction games. A photograph of class T5 shows a girl reorganisation a text. On the wall, two texts dictated to the teacher can be seen, presumably illustrated by the author. In line with the lists of words that constitute contextualised records to support writing, there is on the wall of the room a board with folds[183] with fragments of words to recombine as well as to reconstruct entire sentences, using the words of the mentioned envelopes.

Some filmed documents show the collective work of discovering the written text based on already known words. In a class prior to the T7 class, we see how children identify, from a text written on the board, the words they already read, circumscribing

[182] Although it is necessary to see the phrases in Portuguese to understand how from there are expelled reference words for the sound representations, I list here the translation for to see the relation with the class and the experiences of the children.

[183] See page 82

them. This process involves everyone. From there, the teacher starts some games to identify hidden words, or go looking for previously combined words. In the same way, Julieta Lopes takes the T7 class, right at the beginning of the literacy process, to discover a text composed of words with which they were already familiar. While writing, the class analyses and predicts what will be written. After an explanation of each of the words, and at the final moment, we see Melissa Lousada and two other classmates reconstruct the text, forming a queue depending on the strip of paper that each one has, with part of the text. It is a collective game that leads to the routine of recomposing texts on the folding board and on the computer.

This whole work of systematisation does not necessarily mean that pressure is exerted on the learners in the sense of having to obey a norm and a disciplinary development, in which everyone evolves at the same pace. As Milene Afonso says:

> "I know *at posteriori* that it took me a long time to read, I had a lot of difficulties learning to read. I had some ease with writing, with mathematics, because they were basically problems that we had to solve, but not, in any way, in reading, I took a long, long time, maybe I only started to actually read, something, only in the second year."

The reading space, or *"reading corner"*, as it is remembered by some, completes the stimulus for reading texts outside the producers and authors of the class itself, expanding the beyond-border vision of the classroom. From the space that Selma Belo evokes as " ... a little corner to read. We sat on the floor, there were some pillows, it was a prepared corner... " , Milene Neves adds:

> "I remember the reading corner (voice of sudden recognition), and I almost always read the same book (laughs), well, maybe it was also a phase when I really needed routines, and I looked for them a little bit in my school, which at home I didn't have much..."

Write and read, read and write

All classes display a notebook with a title like *"Our reading book" "Our textbook" "3rd year texts", "4th grade textbook"* or *"The first textbook of reading"*. These are reading books, integrated into the class library and containing texts by class members. Carla Brito speculates:

> "I don't know if they were all, or if they were just the chosen ones. I don't know, but I think they were the chosen ones. And then we made copies."

Two images of an individual workbook of the T6 class show a grid of two entries, where, vertically, it is possible to enter the names of authors or text titles, while horizontally, criteria are listed, allowing easy accounting of individual and collective opinions about what is presented. In this specific case of the 1st year of schooling,

the criteria are presented by symbols with meanings such as *"well thought out", "small text", "large text", "I like it", "I don't like it" and "it has to be worked on"* . The described practice of institutional pedagogy or reports of practice by members of the MEM, informs us that well received texts can be forwarded to the textbook of the class, to the correspondents or to the class newspaper, going through a process of improvement and eventually rewrite. During a filmed reportage of the work of the T5 and T6 classes, in 1994, we see the binding of texts presented in this way, followed by the presentation of the class newspaper *"O grifo"* with texts, news and stories, reserving the last page to present class accounting.

The choice for improvement was a routine that Julieta Lopes explains, resuming the process from the moment of writing:

> "That the vast majority were all made up stories and stuff like that. Then it was read, they read it. [...] Those who wanted to read texts, it wasn't mandatory, but everyone did; to be reviewed, it was voted. So the ones they had worked on, [it was] because they liked it a lot, or [...] because it was confusing, or [...] because there's no way and we had to work around it, anyway, but they were the ones who chose those they wanted to work. But there were rules, which was, the one who had already been worked on, could have another worked on but [...] priority was given [to new authors], all the kids in principle had to have a text worked on by the end of the year, at least one. And as long as there were texts to be worked from some kids, it would not be repeated."

Associated with the collective writing registers, there are also individual notebooks in which each one writes or keeps their read and unselected writings for collective publication, also allowing lists of individualised words. As Ricardo Azevedo says: *"We had notebooks [to] write stories , stick them on paper, that's all I remember"*.

In the kindergarten, stories are also written, using the teacher as a scribe. It results in illustrated books, often on dot-matrix printer paper, as seen in one of the footage of an end-of-year exhibition. On the filmed sheets we see an invented story, of a clown boy who meets ants, illustrated by one of the presumed authors.

The experimental writing notebooks of the T6 class show how everyone is encouraged to tell what they want to tell, using their personal choice of letter, drawing their speech to use Vygotsky's words:

> "*The child needs to make a basic discovery — that one can draw, in addition to things, also speech. It was this discovery, and this discovery alone, that led mankind to the brilliant way of writing in letters and sentences; the same discovery leads children to literal writing. From a pedagogical point of view, this transition must be facilitated by the child's shift from drawing things to drawing speech*" (2007b, p. 140).

Someone who learns to represent what he or she said, to code their own speech, in

order to decode it afterwards, quickly approaches the spelling code.
A secondary aspect concerns the design of the letter itself. All the writing work depends on the presentation of what each one has to say, so the focus is on the content and not so much on the form. One learns to write by writing, so the letter used is of lesser importance. Judite Pinheiro and Francisco Neto confirm this and the latter states:

> "We didn't learn the cursive handwriting, we learned the script handwriting and that was obvious, we were aware that the others learned that "weird" letter, isn't it, all connected, isn't it, and that there was, that we had no pressure in the sense of our letters being "beautiful" and I was aware that others had that pressure, and I remember that difference."

It was only from the mid-1990s onwards that albums began to be produced using texts written on a computer. In the others, there is a variety of handwritten letters, but there is a predominance of non-cursive handwritten letters. Vítor Abreu notes in this regard:

> "Regarding the activities inside the classroom, I remember that one of the things that was the best for me was that we never learned how to write in calligraphy and we learned the script directly, or something like that. This is something that has always stuck with me, I always found it funny, because in the future, in other schools I would never be able to write like that, but also, I never had the need [to do it]."

Depending on the readability of the text, strategies are developed to make the letter design clearer, which sometimes implies resorting to very specific and individualised support, in case someone is faced with difficulties with fine motor skills, for example. I found some support sheets in the collection of documents, which could include a copy of a model or the definition of spaces for writing in combination with the existence of facilitating marks to guide the hand. It suggests that here, too, writing training is based on the writing of information of great significance for those in the literacy process. In any case, it is valued that the writing is functional, effective and readable, as can be seen for example in the presentation of Alvito's camp.
Speech encoding is an intellectual interpretation process, not a *design exercise*.

Communication and the study of writing

From the preceding pages, it became clear that there is constant attention to the writing process at Voz do Operário da Ajuda. Irene Pires remembers, in 1984-1989, "making stories and illustrating them" as Ricardo Azevedo, speaking of 1991-1995 focuses on "What kind of work? Several things... We wrote stories, ... ". Francisco Neto remembers the social aspect of writing, in the act of creation:

> "So, writing texts, writing texts in pairs, individually, I remember [being] on the

> computer, passing texts on the computer, which had already been improved by us or by the class..."

The texts discussed and rewritten together leave marks in the memory. Clarisse Rosa says:

> "I remember the texts, reading the texts of some [...], and it's funny that I even remember some of the texts. I have some texts in memory. I think I remember a text by Milene, which had to do with her room and the toys, in which she brought some toys to life."

The functions of written text

From the T6 class there is a document with the title *"O chapéu da Alice" (Alice's hat)* which consists of a collection of stories invented from a provocation in the book with proposals for activities by Júlia Soares and Rosalina Gomes de Almeida (1991). From a drawing and some clues, each one invents his story. From the document, it can be seen that there was a collective reading phase, during which a survey was made of the elements used in the various versions, and which also served to introduce some suggestions in some of the texts. The document itself appears to serve as a gift to the authors of the book, which the class invited for a visit and a conversation:

> *Hi Rosalina and Julia,*
> *We would love you for to come here.*
> *We have already read some pages of your book.*
> *We want to talk to you and share our stories.*
> *We have a surprise for you.*
> *We are the boys and girls of the 1st class of Voz do Operário.*
> *Kisses,*
> *Catarina, Inês, André, Jorge, João Paulo, Tiago, Rita, Tânia, Vítor, Ana, Ricardo, Fernando, Helena, António, Marta*
> *Pascal*

I did not find, except in my own memory, a record of the conversation that took place with Júlia Soares and Rosalina Almeida, during which some children presented their invented stories, transformed into mini-books.

The little books were all written by the authors themselves, freely, therefore. The way of intervening in the text could differ from adult to adult. While the stories produced by the T6 group, as well as the texts produced by the T3 group, are improved, there was no concern for necessarily having an explicit message, as happened, for example, with the T5 group, which Julieta Lopes remembers that:

> "The free texts, I used more to work on the language, to work on the text so

> that the text would then have a little message at the end. In the end, some were already saying, Oh Julieta, this text has no message!"

The concept of free text can be interpreted here as the production of texts at times defined by the person with content also defined by the person, not forgetting that it is mandatory to write texts throughout the week. Julieta Lopes mentions:

> "This free text thing always made me a bit confused. Because, free text, free text, who didn't want to write, didn't write, this couldn't be, it isn't. So it was like this: it was mandatory, I wouldn't call it free text, it was a moment of writing. Lately, I no longer have the word free text there. Or it was text, or moment of writing, or something like that.
>
> Anyone who wanted to write a text freely, a story, anything, fine. Whoever didn't want to, agreed to write anything. Or about a topic, or whatever it was, but I had to write something."

Much of the written production is available in the school library, bound in booklets such as Stories (1) Stories (2) Stories (3) Small Stories, among many others.
In addition to the genuine stories already listed, there are stories inspired by research work done earlier or at the same time, such as *"The girl and the wolves"* (made in transparencies) *"Were there dinosaurs on all planets?" "The lost wolf " "The planet is not a person" "The magic island"* or *"The rainbow"*. Others are retellings, altering the form, as is the case of *"O vento e o sol – retelling in comics" "A visit to the doctor – retelling in comics "*.

Improve writing

The meaning given to writing passes through the communication circuits. We have seen, in the specific case of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, how the language, mathematics and interpretation projects often serve the group itself. However, there is also constant publication abroad. The magusto and end of the year festivities serve above all to show the albums and communicate with the public. The presentation of albums and stories is provided, which is particularly clear in the exposition about the writing process itself. In a photograph from this exhibition, we see three adults leafing through albums and textbooks grouped on top of tables, accompanied by three children who suggest readings. Next to the children and in front of the adults, an exhibitor subtitles the various stages of writing and proofreading, under the title *"How we work with language"* . Francisco Neto remembers:

> "the texts that we disseminated... were supposed to be bettered, that were all improved collectively, texts by us, individually, by each one, I don't remember how, if we were the ones who chose, we offered the texts, if it was the teacher who convinced us to offer the text, I don't remember what it was like, but I remember that we all had the notion that sooner or later one of our texts

would be improved collectively."

The texts are offered to the class at the beginning of the day, or at specific moments of text reading. These can be texts on their own initiative, such as *"A ida ao cinema"* or *"The clown fumbles"* or with some support from an adult, who signs the text proposal together with the child, as in the case of *"There once was a clown"*. But it is also possible that they are texts from a writing ***workshop***, such as the one seen in a video excerpt documenting the work of the T3 and T4 classes. Under the voice-over announcement *"joint writing workshop"* we are shown how the two classes are divided into the two rooms, in small groups of 3 or 4, all with their writing notebooks, producing, exchanging words between pairs.

It may be about creating a collective history. Another collective story is presented to us by Carla Gouveia, in a short filmed moment, when the T7 class shows the dwarf rabbits at the Magusto festivity.

In the various rooms, varying from group to group, there is an information wall to help with writing, varying from room to room. In class T2, the wall displays, at a certain point, the existing and promised collection for the class newspaper, but also a list of words that identifies sets of animals, and another that makes the connection between names of professions and the place where the profession is exercised. On the same wall there are some grammatical indications and verb tenses.

Improvement work can lead to small projects that go beyond simply improving a colleague's text. A set of texts by Tomás Prata and his classmates, are the motto for a writing workshop that ends with the presentation of a collective poster, under the title ***"The A dynasty"***. The text work underlying the elaboration of the poster gave rise to ***Tomas en de Portugese familie van de woorden***[184] (Paulus and Paulus, 2009: 120-133), translated from my personal archive:

"*With the first correction, the text looks like this:*

Once upon a time there was A.
That A was mischievous.
She was from the family of words.
Tomás
18.01.91.

Once again inviting for a writing workshop, the following questions remain:
What's the title?
Where is A going?
What happened to her?
Who are her friends (words)?

[184] Tomás and the Portuguese word family

Why was she mischievous? What was she doing?

The classmates all participated and the idea arose to make a poster on the display at the entrance to the room with the title *"The A-dventures":*

"In the reading we did, after the time we had given ourselves to write, the 11 proposals with the most votes were chosen to be worked on and exposed, as we had previously agreed."

Among the texts that emerged, there was one, suitable for a little linguistic exploration. It was suggested by Diogo Garcia, but it was the group that introduced **"***the A-family"***:**

The great A-family

Once upon a time there was A. She had many friends, for example: The, who was her husband, the little ones who were her children At, On, In, Over, Up, Under, On-it, Over-it, In-it and The-one and she had more friends.
She, A, was very mischievous because she got into where she didn't belong. A goes into texts like other words do. This A was part of the family of words.

Diogo Garcia.

Another routine consists of handing in texts written on loose sheets in a text box, placed on the computer table, in the case of classes T5 and T6.
The improvement of the text includes, in some cases, the discussion of sequences. When working on the text *"the fool"* everyone suggests, under Julieta guidance, adjectives to describe the state of one of the characters. In a second moment, the logical direction of the text is reviewed, in which several children argue. Then, while Julieta rewrites the text on the board, there are those who explain the interconnection between two sequences. Julieta gives her opinion too and they move on to another plane. Later the class discusses the same text trying to assess which statements about the characters are valid and which are not.

Publishing in the class newspaper

Raul Bento comments "I remember the newspaper we had". Carla Brito talks about it when she talks about publishing free texts and explains:

"At the press, we produced some texts made by us, at least that's what I remember. I don't know if they were all, or if they were just the chosen ones. I don't know, but I think they were the chosen ones. And then we would make [printed] copies."

In fact, after composing the texts, the sheets were taken out for the newspapers. In one of the photographs of the T3 class, the newspaper pages are drying on a rope

hanging in front of the blackboard. The documentary collection includes several class newspapers, including the collection *"Os Catraios" "Curriscos e trovoadas" "O Serafim"* and *"O grifo"*. They are collections of texts by the group. From the Belgian correspondents there was a school newspaper *"De schoolkrant zonder naam"*[185]. While the *"os Catraios"* collection is sparsely illustrated, the other two newspapers show a great deal of aesthetic concern. The documents found are probably newspapers photocopied for sale, as occurs in some filmed sequences of a Magusto event at school: there is a set of photocopies *"Pestinhas e Serafim"* sold for 150 escudos. The only class newspaper for the 1st year of the T6 class that I found, integrated in an album with texts and news, is called *"Crianças em ação"*. It is a model, for photocopying, of texts written by hand, on the computer and the press.

Fernanda Queirós remembers the newspapers and the press. And she concludes: "This is another thing that I valued later in college. It was the engraving".

The production of the class newspaper spans the entire analysed period. Jorge Carvalho talks about "compendium", Irene Pires[186] talks about :

> "a newspaper that had the intention of reaching out to parents, something that I think we even wanted to sell, because it had a lot of information about what was going on at school."

The Class Journal is an information vehicle. The text work that precedes impregnates the study of the language with meaning. It is needed to produce for the outside, to let others know what children have to tell and opine.

Leaving prehistory and entering history involves writing. The written record fixes in time the oral record. Anyone transfer towards historical time when their speech is registered through the writing code. Subscribing to history means writing own stories and history. A school shape is here visible that constitutes a written interaction with the world, different from the scripting of a person becoming an object treated as number or file in a dossier.

To communicate with someone who is not in the same space at the same time, a written record of what is wanted to communicate is essential. Here, I am interpreting the concept of "written record" in the broad sense of recording own speech or thought on a medium that can be reused by others or by oneself anywhere and at any time. The interaction with the first recording, in the sense of making it clearer for others and for himself, is the essence of the text work, dear to

> "... MEM professionals for whom writing, that is, the producing of written texts, always interact with the cultural, historical and institutional contexts where those who produce them live, study and work. In this other perspective, the

[185] *"The Nameless School Newspaper"*

[186] Both from class group T2

cultural and situated character of writing is accentuated."

(Sérgio Niza, 2012, p. 554).

The learner and the connection to knowledge

Final topic and no question

I now propose a final look at the relation with knowledge from the point of view of the learner.

I have grouped the keywords that emerge from the collection and that guide this fourth point in two segments. First look at the existence of "*Memories of mediated learning...* " with the keywords "*learning*" " *relationship with learning*" and "*critical sense".* Then I grouped under the heading "*In the center of the action*" the keywords *"autonomy" "autonomy (limits)" "citizenship" "guests"* and *"news".*

Memories of mediated learning...

The involvement of children in conducting their learning presupposes a process that escapes, most of the time to whom is involved as a child. Carla Brito says:

> "About my learning, eh, I don't remember concretely, that process of learning, that is, I don't remember learning"

Vítor Abreu considers that there was a great deal of interaction with and between learners, having all an active voice:

> "I also remember, I think we participated a lot, in, during the classes and we talked a lot, I think you communicated with us, you asked a lot of questions and it wasn't just sitting or listening to you ... euh ... explaining the subject, ... explain things."

Milene Neves remembers that more than being an interaction between teacher and learners, it was the learners among them who were asked to intervene and:

> "the teacher served as the conductor of these various groups, he helped one by one, and from time to time, with regard to a practical problem, the class stopped and we began to discuss that problem, and a challenge was thrown at us. "

Here, the teacher appears as a mediator for student learning by facilitating their interaction with knowledge, in the sense Houssaye (2004, p. 38) says:

> " *The "teaching" process is built on the primacy of the teacher-knowledge relationship, the "education" process on the teacher-student relationship (Korczak, Neill, Rogers, Makarenko), the "learning" process on the student-knowledge relationship (Freinet, Decroly, Montessori, Dewey)."*

The learning process prevails, but it is not limited to a relationship between the

student and knowledge. Here, a web of interactions appears, where knowledge, learners and cooperation with the group have their meaning. Even mediation itself does not pass only through the adult. It also passes through the group, with its weekly and daily organisation, as expressed by Carla Gouveia:

> "so, from the beginning we knew what we had to do, and, from the moment we said that, okay, I'll do it during the week, we had to do it, so that made us... Julieta would only say: look, you see there is something here to try to improve... I think that we have a sense of responsibility since we were young, a little different from that of our friends who went to other primary schools."

This joint structuring is also evoked by Milene Afonso, when she says:

> "The classes... The classes were mainly open classes, that is, they were completely different with Julieta. [... With the first teachers], it's more a notion of rites, a notion of organisation, that I have, that I feel, but that I don't remember anything concrete. With Julieta, I know that we had some activities, that we did and then I managed to structure my day, my day-to-day life and even managed to structure at least a week."

As seen above, little is said about lessons in the memoirs presented. The collective moments are reported as moments of joint work and not exactly as moments of transmission of knowledge. There are two narrations (Narciso and Paulus, 2006) that relate to the T3 class that accompany the class in two more moments of questioning. From one of them I found, in the personal collection, some work material. It is a collective work on how to build a Scrabble game before there was a commercial version in Portuguese. The distribution of letters in a set of 100 had to be discovered, to allow word composition in Portuguese. An investigation of the frequency of letters on a page of a youth book that was part of the class library was carried out and from there, the set of letters for the game was built, by successive approximations.

A second story has, as a backdrop, one of the Magusto events. Based on a discussion of who was the most lucky with the raffles, an attempt was made to reach a consensus on the term "luck" in this context. It was accepted that the average value per gift would serve as a criterion: the lower the value, the luckiest one had been in buying the raffle tickets. It involved studying division by very small numbers, to understand the limit situation, when trying to understand what it means to have spent money and not to have won any gift. A survey was made of how many gifts had been given to each of the children in classes T3 and T4 and how much money each of them had spent, tracing scenarios and trying to define in this context "*having more luck*" and "*having more bad luck*".

There are more examples of moments of collective work, some around more classi-

cal proposals, in mathematics, others around text improvement or the exploration of one project or another.

On the other hand, Clarisse Rosa recalls the need to organise herself, giving prominence to learners, who were very different from each other:

> "... I think there were twenty-eight or twenty-nine students, very different kids from the point of view of interests and learning, and even families, so I'm trying to remember some kids, those kids who stood out from the point of view of how they imposed themselves in the class, with their presence, isn't it, very intervening kids."

The ability of adults to see the specificity of each child they are working with seems to lead them to see the difference as a quality *"of that or those different"*[187] and not as *"damage"* or *"disorder"*. Thus, difference or the *"quality of diversity"* is enhanced through the system of responsibilities, regulation of work projects and discussion of the group's rules and norms.

This mediated learning gives rise to a very diverse range of original products, whether by individual authors or by groups of authors, as it was possible to see. I remember a few more titles, in addition to all the aforementioned albums and studies[188], in a vast collection of more than 200 works available and located in the period covered by classes T1 to T7: *"The moon and the two girls — illustrated history" , "illustrated History by Marta Maria Monteiro", "The cats", "The wolves", "The girl and the bicycle", "Were there dinosaurs on all planets?"*.

It is as if there was a tension between the child's desire, the group's desire and the adult's desire, which provokes a discussion about the organisation of learning. When they talk about their work in the French improvement classes, Vasquez and Oury (1967) refer that the reencounter with learning goes through the reencounter with the desire to learn. I reinforce this idea using words from Charlot (1997, p 95). When the author speaks of the relation with knowledge, he remembers that this interaction implies a desire to learn and to know. The object of desire is always there: the other, the world, oneself, so one doesn't have to go looking for it... There is a connection with the representation of knowledge, the constructed mental image. The self-training in cooperation that is practiced at MEM, and which Sérgio Niza (2012) talks about on different occasions, is organised around interactions between people and knowledge, but also between people with different knowledge. The social relation between them does not hinder, but on the contrary, reinforces, for each one, their own relation to knowledge.

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[187] Italics are translations from definitions taken from the Portuguese Priberam Online Dictionary (accessed on July 19, 2012)

[188] See *"Camps and fieldwork "* and *"Studies and work projects to find out more"*

There is in the memoirs and in the document collection enough information to show us how children and adults decided to develop projects based on their desire to investigate one or another subject, because someone was interested in doing so. From there, joint regulation is imposed and the individual work plan is a central and much-discussed instrument. Julieta Lopes notes:

> "There were times when the plan was just the plan, their individual work plan, then it became, hmm, it became the work that was done with me ... in terms of scheme, it varied many times, sometimes it was there, sometimes times it was not. Then there was mandatory, individual work, so each kid really had to do a certain thing, there was one who took refuge just for example, ... in making language worksheets, another only did math worksheets and then invested very little in the others. .. in the arts, in clay, in tapestries, things like that, that I thought were important, but they, influenced by I don't know what, thought that what was important were the cards. So there was often a discussion of what [is] what should be done and what should not be done. There were many, many changes of plan, but they always had a plan. The study of the environment never had a plan. It happened, and then you saw it."

In classes involved in long projects, the individual plans allow children and adults not to get lost in the detail of a job and to guide themselves to finish what they have in hand in good time. Only with collective and individual regulation, depending on the will and action of the group, is it possible to plan and carry out the camps or meetings with correspondents or visitors and produce texts about these events.
However, talking about collective moments is also talking about learning the multiplication tables. Clarisse Rosa refers to the T2 class, from 1988, when she states:

> "I remember, by chance, that we had the multiplication tables contest in that group, because I was so worried about, already! (laughs), with the question of the tables and not knowing the tables and that pressure from parents because they didn't know the tables, and having introduced the table contest, which was normally at the end of the day."

The multiplication tables contest seems to cross classes and times. Classes T3 and T4 had contests between classes. Notes by two, between Dora Agostinho and myself, for an article that was never published, show a concern to study with the children the two-entry table that contains the multiplication tables from 2 to 10. The statements, in series of ten, reveal a concern to clarify some regularities, noting the alternation of even and odd numbers, the formation and position of square numbers in the table, as well as the repetition pattern of the unit digits, in any of the tables.

... and opinions about it

The school experience revived through the recounted memories provokes a discourse in which the reports alternate with opinions about what was experienced. When information regarding learning in general appears in the interviews, there is also an opinion. And here, the tables and mathematics are, once again, present. Carla Garcia says:

> "And I think that the way we learn... for example, I didn't learn the multiplication table 2 times 2, four, 2 times 3, six, I didn't learn it, but I mean, but I have the capacity..., that is, I acquired the capacity to reasoning things out, when I'm given a certain thing, the solution is found, I think that's in everything else I've found, and what am I going to find, isn't it? This is the big idea I have. That's what I learned there. It's very positive, it's very positive, but I never forget that apart from everything that has been positive, my family context has always helped too. Because I think if there wasn't, things would be different."

Milene Afonso, meanwhile, returns to focusing on learning the multiplication table:

> "... we built a multiplication table, we built it, that is, we did it. How are we going to do a multiplication table, and we did some little calculations to do the multiplication table. We made a chart, with the whole table: one time one gives "doh!" And it was there nailed to the wall. And I, in fact, saw that all serve. But who's to say that I memorised that? (laughs) It's not that I didn't know how to do that. But I didn't think it was any fun memorising that."

The concern of adults to help find a meaning for learning, which requires effort and work, allowed learners to situate themselves and interact with knowledge. As Sheila Castro says[189]:

> "I feel that it is very difficult to be interested in things, let alone how things are [normally] presented, and I think that in this way, it allows us perhaps..., it raises our interest, that is, the fact that we are the ones looking for things, eh, ... it gives things a certain charm, the fact that it is a bit more research, [...] what I was saying a while ago, not only, I think this teaching method [. ..] it gives you a bit of the observer side, to those who teach us, doesn't it, so let us, let us wander and be the ones looking for it, and therefore... [...] it allows us to participate a lot more and take initiative."

Selma Belo, from the same class, relates participation and individual initiative and focuses on the learner's interaction with learning, that is, the relation established with

[189] Class T3, 1990-1991.

the information that is appropriated, building knowledge-in-the-act. According to this:

> "People do not all learn in the same way, and as such it is important to focus on each person, in this case, each person. It is important and central, because you have to have the perception of each one as a single person, and not as a whole. Because what is being said to me may be that my colleague next to me is not seeing it the same way, and then there are the school asymmetries and development of each one. I think that in this aspect, we were in a group, the tasks were done as a group, and the doubts were put on the table, for everyone, and for everyone to try to solve."

This statement is in line with a crystalline thought by Sérgio Niza (2012, p. 528), when he explains the social side of the relation to knowledge:

> *"The structure of the organisation that implements this project of life in common is cooperative work, where we seek to ensure that each one reaches the highest awareness, that each one can only achieve their learning objectives for their cultural and social development in school if and only if everyone else can catch up."*

Selma Belo continues and does not avoid a comparison with what she observes from the teaching rituals at school:

> "That's how it is, kids nowadays don't have invention inside them, they don't know, they don't create, they don't create anything, and there we had to create, to experiment, and we learned."

The very notion of experimentation is interesting. It means that the mediation of learning does not only pass through the provocation made by the teacher. It is in the interaction with the context itself, with the objects of work, it is, as I have already mentioned, in the desire to interact with the other subject or with the object of interest, that the discussion takes place and that individual and common learning takes place. It is again about interacting, about a relationship that the subject establishes with the environment in which he finds himself. Charlot (1997) focuses on the mistake. The child is not an object subjected to the environment in which he finds himself. It is a source of problems to consider that it is influenced, either by the teacher's words or by the didactic instrument. As the author says: *"only influenced by influences those who let themselves to be influenced by this influence"*[190] (1997, p.89 *).*
The work proposal at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, which emerges from the memoirs and documents that I analysed, is situated on the level of interaction, sometimes clearly and explicitly, when we look at the organisation of work and the management of relations with power, sometimes less clearly, when we look at some of the testimonies referring to the learners' relation with learning, such as those referring to

190 Translated from French .

the usefulness of programming with LOGO. It is perceived that the work of programming with computers is not seen as training modules with the objective of teaching children and it is intuited that the introduction of this tool obliges to develop new interactions with a changing environment, both by children and by adults. Dora Agostinho says:

> "in terms of mathematics, I developed a lot of notions that helped them a lot, [...], as I also learned more, because there were kids who knew more than me, they learned too. I was able to transform their stories, [...] with the LOGO program [...]."

It is perhaps this attitude of interaction that leads Clarisse Rosa to note:

> "I remember that at the time, as a teacher, I ended up living with it badly, but imposing myself. I mean, I thought I had to continue, because it was a new tool, and I couldn't just give up because I thought that... these were also my difficulties, that I had to try to overcome."

Some of the interventions suggest a correlation between the project of society a group grasps and the way of doing school deriving from it. The Lassallian normative school shape corresponds to a certain project of a hierarchical society. The school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda is based on a participatory vision, which at times appears as a break with the logic of a hierarchical power chain. According to Julieta Lopes:

> "it's nice to pick them up at the beginning, drop them at the end, have contacts later, and see what those heads built at our expense. And that makes one very proud."

An interesting statement in this regard is from Irene Pires. It features a testimony from someone she met by chance and who was also a student at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*. This former student, in the words of Irene Pires, would have said he felt uneasy because he had learned in a context that values difference and originality:

> "... I studied anthropology, and now I am [...] in an area of anthropology [...] which is video documentary — [but] he is a person who is more in the business fabric, I don't know what he does, it was management of something — he was the first person I met who said: "*I feel professionally harmed today for having been a student at Voz, for having this system that is intuitive and that makes me feel that I am in fact different, because in high school I didn't have the foundations that everyone else had*". In secondary, in preparatory school and so on, [...] I felt a bit this freedom, of a person becoming sedimented, [...] and "naturalising" the meaning of learning, which [is how] I feel the Voz, versus this memorise-and-know, because of reading something 400 times or repeating it 400 times. I always valued this "naturalisation" and he said that it [...] harmed him because he didn't want to be different. And [...] I was shocked, but I

> realised afterwards, in fact, that there is not a system that works for everyone [...]. But also, I'm not a pedagogue so I don't think about it."

The memory of space of freedom is therefore not a peaceful memory. In a schooled society marked by the Lassallian school shape of social relations, by 'disciplining' in the sense used by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish,* there are those who seek the standards of hierarchical normality.

There is a concern in the organisation of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* which has to do with the actors. A space of organised freedom where children are seen as subjects implicated as author in their learning process in a consequent way, is a space from which the constant questioning arises if, in fact, each person managed to go as far as possible. Milene Afonso formulates a doubt in this sense:

> "Some people perhaps had more difficulties than others, afterwards, in adapting, that is, I have the notion that [...] there were people, for example, who actually ended up [...] having stayed along the way. Therefore, perhaps, possibly with another type of structure, who knows, having gone further, or perhaps not having had so many difficulties in entering the normal public system. I'm thinking, for example, of S.'s case, whom I know a little better, she hasn't even finished ninth grade and I don't know if she has a cognitive delay, it could also be conditioned, I also remember that she already had, with us some difficulties or some minor difficulties, but [...] the truth is that most people are, for example, at the moment, perhaps at university or have already taken their courses, etc. So, apparently we took a relatively normal route, anyway, but I don't think it's bad, necessarily quantifiable, but that in fact it was more difficult for some other people and I think that our abilities were in fact enhanced, but also some others were left in deficit, so sometimes it is a little complicated to manage this issue."

The difficulty here lies in the fact of assigning a certain cause and effect. It is tempting to attribute to a variant of the school shape based on interaction the inability of another more frequent variant based on transmission since the latter does not provide the connection to knowledge and interaction with learning.

In the center of the action

Throughout this subchapter it became clear that the whole school is organised according to the centrality given to the learner either child or adult. Situations are generated, outside and inside the walls of the classroom, which lead to the organisation of work plans in group so that each one can weave their way of interacting with information from their points of interest and starting point. I remember here what the filmed documentation about correspondence, camps and

internal activities shows.

The film that accompanies the exchange between the T3 class and the Leuven class shows learning situations in which the children literally immerse in the action, during the preparation and travelling by plane and train. The entire meeting with the correspondents, organised by the two classes, with their teachers and a group of adult friends, creates situations of direct interaction with the available information. This information is presented in many occasions. During the visit to the field around Leuven, some observe a little hole inside a berry of a bush: first conversation with the Belgian professor, and following research, relates the finding to the action of a type of wasp from the *sphex* family (hunting wasps). The exploration of Leuven is done through an interaction with the city and its inhabitants, as well as the discovery of Brugge. There is the experience of swimming in the North Sea, different from swimming in the Ocean. During the courtesy visit to the Town Hall of Leuven, to thank for the support received, one of the children recounts the genesis and implementation of the interconnection and meeting between the two classes.

The film that accompanies the indoor camp in Portel, by the T3 and T4 classes, also exemplifies this interaction with learning and the connection with knowledge, including knowledge experienced by others. There is an encounter with the knowledge of oral tradition, during the already mentioned conversation with the shepherd-poet and the encounter with the artisans, during the visit to the pottery and the oil mill. In the same way, the T5 and T6 classes interact with the population of Alvito. After an interview with a Municipality employee, based on questions asked by the working group of children about the history and the people of the region, the whole group is filmed when visiting a place where memory is presented in the form of objects from agricultural life. They discover what millstones are and meet the collective of the *"papa-borregos"* also allowing interaction with the knowledge coming from the oral and artisan register.

The children remain at the heart of the action, in the school's basement, during an exhibition on the carnation revolution organised for the community. There is also a filmed document in which the children of the T7 class report to others what they understood from the interviews they did with former opponents of the *Estado Novo* regime.

The whole school is involved in the Magusto event. The children are, with the involved adults, at the center of the action and, in working teams, they prepare and coordinate the various moments of the event. They present the studies they have done to the rest of the school community, after having planned them together, with adult support when necessary.

learning from guests

The relationship between the school community and the nearby or distant

community is part of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* work project. At all times, information is sought in surrounding community and society, forcing to go outside the school space. This space is always available as a temporary space, for organising the gathering and collecting, for to work and interpret information together. The work proposal continues to place the concerned actors at the center of the action: adults and children interact with those who are not at school to gather information and knowledge that is useful for the work they have in progress.
This posture allows everyone to be a learner, regardless of their function or role. Julieta Lopes says:

> "I knew as much about some things as they did, didn't I? I learned a lot from the people I took to school. I always took people to school, always."

As other teachers in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, she took people to school and took people from school out of school. For the studies about Lisbon, the children told the stories of those who know the neighbourhoods. Julieta Lopes says:

> "People were always there, for example the group of pensioners from *Voz do Operário*, they worked a lot with us. Or accompanying us in Alfama, or coming to the school, for example, to talk about the auctions, the old activities, all those things, they worked a lot with us."

In one of the photographs of the visit to Lisbon by the T5 and T6 classes, there is a small group of children observing a neighbourhood, accompanied by the driver and an older person, who is speaking to his youth audience.
The involvement of those who know, because it is part of their profession is also witnessed at various times and in various documents. Among the situations already reported, I add people from the village of Alvito involved in the game of clues that the children are doing and a conversation with people who treat sheep skins in a small company in the same village. It is also in Alvito there is another group of guests: the choir came to sing for the camp, and then singing goes on into the night, around a bonfire.
In one of the filmed documents, there is a conversation about the human body with a physician, who was identified to me as the mother of one of the children in the 1st year of schooling. As I have already mentioned, mathematics teacher Fernando Nunes was asked to help to set up an experiment. And Julieta Lopes refers to the memory former students kept from the work around mathematics, in which I participated as a father:

> "Even today, it was two years ago, there was a picnic with former students of mine, who were still talking about 'the fabulous work they did with Pascal'."

Clarisse Rosa mentions another aspect of the invited guests. The correspondents' mothers accompany their children so that the little Lisbon hosts can show them what

they didn't know:

> "So when they came, the kids from Alentejo, they came with a lot of mothers, I think almost all the kids came with their mothers. And so, we received them at *Voz do Operário*, had lunch, then went to the beach with the mothers and children and that was also interesting and we took the opportunity to visit Lisbon and show Lisbon to the children and parents, who they also did not know."

Testimonies appear about the invitation of authors, such as Carla Garcia:

> "I also have the idea of going there one time or another, authors, reading books, reading in the short stories, or stories they had, I remember that too."

Clarisse Rosa remembers the coming "... (of) Alice Vieira, I don't know if it was with that group." Among the saved videos, I found a short discussion of children in conversation with the author of children's books, Alexandre Honrado, in the basement. Next, there is a signing session, where Ricardo Azevedo appears, with the book *"A cor do osso"* in his hand. The same conversation appears in a fragment of the cultural program *"Acontece"* on Portuguese state television, which begins with two questions from children: *"How long does it take to write a book?"* and *"When you write , does your hand hurt?"*, but whose answers were not recorded in the short report that focuses on a book fair organised in the basement of the school. I have already mentioned the conversation with the authors of the school book *"My first reading book"* Rosalina Gomes de Almeida and Júlia Soares, organised by the T6 class.

Some of the invitations are related to recent history, the time of clandestinity is once again highlighted by Julieta Lopes:

> "I remember. I remember a historian, eh, I don't remember his name, but he was a well-known historian, I remember the grandmother of a child who lived underground, during the fascist period. She went there to tell her granddaughter [and her classmates]. Communist party militants, some went there, deputies went there, many people linked to Quercus and the nature protection league,"

Of the people who lived underground, or who were imprisoned, and who came to the school to talk about the time before April 1974, there are more memories. Vitor Abreu says:

> "I remember when we spoke with some survivors of the PIDE regime, we spoke with former political prisoners, I remember that gentleman well, who went swimming from Caxias[191] to ... that's it ... to land, and managed to escape from prison, I don't remember his name (laughs)."

He probably alludes to Dias Lourenço, seen in an evocation of the 25th of April and

[191] What should have been Peniche

who Milene Afonso remembers:

> "There is Dias Lourenço. It was a memorable afternoon, absolutely memorable, in which we spent, I have no idea how many hours, but I have an idea that there were many, at least two or three hours, with him, simply listening to him. Dias Lourenço practically related his memories of being a political prisoner, and of being in hiding, etc., which was... delicious.
> It happens to be something that I remember sometimes, well, sometimes, in my life, I already remember that day, those stories. It's a life story of resistance, it's beautiful. Hmm. I don't know. For example, some actions in two different contexts, which I think as a person, I recognise that, it seems to me that I was greatly influenced by both things, maybe I have more memories of those years, I don't know, anyway"

Milene Afonso makes this statement when she reports the camp on Berlenga Island. She considers that the work around this camp was a citizenship work, with two strands, one more related to the environment, the other more political, in her own words.

Finally, there are those who remember contacts with family members, such as Francisco Neto and Fernanda Queirós. The first remembers "that people went there with reports of torture by the PIDE, and strong, very strong things" while the second recalls the testimony of a classmate's grandmother: "hmm, from the prison experience oh, isn't it ?".

Citizenship by the study and in the act

Milene Afonso talks about learning citizenship when she mentions the camp, following the fall and pruning of the fig tree and the projects that were made from there. The concern for everyone to develop their citizenship runs through the activity of those who witness their years of work at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* in various contexts and at various times.

When she evokes correspondence with the Alentejo of the mid-'80s, Clarisse Rosa speaks of the city's children gaining awareness through situations that could be a problem for them:

> "Problems because the differences were very big and that was very visible, when they came to tell me things, isn't it, the awareness of what others didn't have at home. For example, I think there was a situation where there wasn't even a bathroom or there was a hole in the backyard for toilet, or something like that, and therefore, what was taken care of was — that was the idea, wasn't it — that they were going to be with the correspondents under the conditions the correspondents had."

Studies, carried out in groups, often have problems that appeal to awareness. Suffice

it to recall the albums *"Before and After. Over the ages; from time to time, things change"* or *"Our work on nature"* but also others, such as *"The boats"* warning for the dangers of nuclear energy as a means of propulsion, or *"The Tagus"* addressing the river pollution. Rita Silves evokes the re-encounter with the former class group Julieta Lopes also mentioned just over a year before this interview sessions and says:

> "And, well, and I know that learning in primary school made me not lose that, it made me not lose track of the world and ...
> And this, the study of the environment, for example, [...] the jobs we had there, it was studying the environment, it was visiting prisons, it was going... things that I don't think are very common in other schools, but it is important for kids to get the idea that there's more... that there's more than school and home. That there are other lives, other things. This is very important. Even for them to have the notion of what they want to be. Not as a profession, I'm not saying anything like that. But what do they want to be as people. That it is important for them to know the rest in order to be able to identify themselves"

Gaining awareness lead to proposals which are surprising at the outset when coming from children preparing for a carnival parade. Carla Gouveia remembers:

> "...A question of the sensitivity of society... I think it was something that... There was once a Carnival, where we disguised ourselves as pollution. ***Me*** : Yes? ***Carla***: And so, even young, since that time, there was still no talk of sustainable development, at a certain point, we were [conscious], at least I was, at least with the pollution, we even designed those suits, I was marked. So much so that years later, at school, when the topic came up, we played a little more at ease and knew a little more than that."

However, gaining awareness as a citizen is done not only through study, but also and, I dare say, above all, through interaction in the classroom, as a citizenship in the act. Francisco Neto highlights these two aspects:

> "I remember, over the years, and even during the primary, talking about the 25th of April, it is still talked about a lot today: young people, now, no longer know what the 25th of April is, nor do they know what this yeah, they don't even know what dictatorship is, [...] and it was a very strong mark on *Voz do Operário*, it was this issue of citizenship and class councils, ..."

The pedagogical relation itself and the interactions between adults and children are discussed when necessary. Julieta Lopes remembers a situation where:

> "One of the children was much more sensitive, a lot... it was different, and he got more cuddles and another got it in his ears. This problem was raised in the assembly. And what they told me was so shocking, I was so confused by it all, that I went... I mean, I really cried, because I remember that I was in the

> bathroom and I heard one [of the girls] saying there out: *"So, she doesn't want us to fight for our rights? Now she can handle!"* This is one of the things I never forget. (laughter). And it shapes us. And it makes us feel proud. It's these people that we want to do, isn't it? It is people with this mindset that we want to get out of here."

The awareness of being a citizen in this artificial learning space was discussed at length above[192]. The recording of events in the class diary, but also the different records of the moments of *telling, reading and showing* and even attendance are starting points for talking, explaining, understanding better and making decisions together.

The ritual of "we started the day with the news, telling the news that had happened, but I can't remember if it was every morning or if it was only on Mondays, morning" (Carla Brito), allows, as we have seen, a literacy process centred on the experiences of the group, but also allows, at each moment, to organise the work according to the questions and concerns of all the children and the adults as they are problematised.

Subjects and actors with autonomy

Right at the opening of the interview, Milene Neves says:

> "OK. Hmm. What do I remember about *Voz do Operário* (laughs). I remember us being very autonomous."

The autonomy that learners have, is a jointly regulated autonomy. Once regulated, each one, or each group, knows that it has the freedom to develop its work project. The logbooks of the T3 class reveal this construction together of the spaces of autonomy of each one. The work plans defined in council and the verification materials available, allow autonomous work, in small groups, as can be seen in a photograph from 1990, where three children work on their individual project, appealing to their colleagues and the tools available.

Everyone is invited to assume this autonomy, as an element in a process of accountability, which is remembered as something of difficult personal management. Milene Afonso comments on this:

> "I don't have, even today, a very well formed opinion about that, I feel that, in fact, the work could have been different, or some levels for me to pass, at least. It shouldn't or couldn't be so, eh, leaving us so autonomously. I think this was very positive for us on an individual level, some levels, but then it was so detrimental to others, if it was a scale, I don't know exactly what counts more, or not."

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192 In *"A Council called an assembly"* page 158.

Autonomy seems to be something that frightens, even for those who managed to build themselves up, in an environment regulated in cooperation and that allows it, without creating chaos. Because, as Francisco Neto recalls,

> "we liked to feel that we were in control of the space, and that we had autonomy to use, you know, the materials, and the space and we were already aware of how we tidied up, when to tidy up, we... I remember that. "

The autonomy appropriated by children and adults in their way of doing school as presented by *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is taken seriously by them. The seriousness it is looked at means that there is a capacity for analysis, even in detailed situations, such as when the small group, traveling through the countryside, in a game of clues, has the task of *"finding the hermitage"*. Faced with everyone's ignorance of what a hermitage is, Carla Garcia observes "If we had a dictionary here, we would already know". The impossibility of having the dictionary, leads one of the participants to want to ask for explanations the adult who is filming the group at distance, when another reminds that the camera operator is not allowed to give information. They begin to look around them, noticing what they see and what they can name. There remains a small structure, they do not know how to name and, by excluding parts, they assume that this is the hermitage they have to go to.

The capacity for analysis that students develop due to the autonomy they have, allows them to make decisions in different situations, including classroom management, as Julieta Lopes observes:

> "Everyone had the chance to be part of the team of the day[193]. Among the teams of the day there was everything [that] had to be done, all the responsibilities, and they, therefore, that team, autonomously decided what they were going to do. And so everything there was, all the management of the room, always ran for all the kids."

One cannot learn autonomy in dependency. One learn to be autonomous in the interaction among people and between people and the knowledge they have and that can exchange.

In this last point, I reviewed the attention so everyone is at the author of proper action in interconnection with everyone else inside and outside the workspace for itself permeable with everything that surrounds it.

[193] See above "*From person in charge towards the team of the day*" page 145.

Hoping for a convivial school

The in-depth analysis I tried to carry out constitutes an exercise in evoking reality, reviving people's memories and interpreting photographs, films and written documents. The explanation of the shape of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school is made by those who were, at school, adult learners or child learners. It was not limited to *"passing by"* since, in many moments, it was the subjects themselves who chose and decided how this school shape of social relations was going to be designed and redesigned, introducing changes to it. The empirically revealed reality of this variant of school shape is illustrated by the autonomy that the groups arrogated to themselves in their collective interpretation of the curriculum. This does not prescribe action, but accompanies it. At each moment, the groups compare the knowledge they acquire through the projects they develop with that objectified knowledge that is inscribed in the curriculum. The desacralisation of power, making the management of space-time a permanent instituting interaction, which involves the entire group that originates this same space-time, frees the shape of social relations from school closure and initiates dynamic interaction with the world.

The collective action, provoked and mediated by the adults of the group, originates a critical position towards knowledge. The joint choice proves to be important for individual choices, at the moment, but also in the path followed later, as some testimonies reveal. One of the former students interviewed, Tomás Duarte, thinks that the camp on Berlenga Island influenced his decision to choose a profession related to nature protection. Another interviewee, Milene Neves, relates the importance that drawing has always had for her with her choice to study architecture. Milene Afonso, in turn, relates her choice for ethology to freedom of choice for projects to explore and the taste cultivated by projects such as life and protection of whales. In a less inductive way, another former student, Rita Silves, relates research, that is, the incitement to make original questions and not the questions of the instruction school rhetoric, as a contribution to having a look at the world and the differences within it.

The group's instituting and collective responsibility consists of organising the interactive cultural space where each one shares with each other the own developed knowledge, promoting a regulated and collective interaction with knowledge. This sharing and this interaction, based on a heterogeneous approach to the curriculum, causes a flow of information, providing the cultural context conducive to supporting everyone to go as far as possible in what they want to learn.

In the group, the subjects were not limited to being actors. They were, themselves, authors of the rules of the learning space and decision makers of the projects they developed, in their form and content, thus promoting an intelligent response to the

curricular demand outside the microcosm in which they evolved. The structuring elements of the pedagogical way of functioning in this microcosm are dynamically related to each other, in their own disposition.

A specific syntax

The word grammar, as we can read in any dictionary, has its origin in the Greek γραμματική (*grammatiké*) and comes to us through the Latin *grammatica*. It refers to the set of individual rules used for a given use of a language, not necessarily what is meant by its "correct" use.

In order to understand the practice of schools, it is tempting to make explicit the set of individual rules that explain it. The *grammar* Tyack and Tobin formulated in 1994, presents the set of rules that refer to the image of the hegemonic school, that is, to school shapes of social relations that are extremely similar to each other. The English title of the article ***Grammar of schooling*** refers to the act of doing school gives room for an interpretation that it is not about the meaning of an action but the determination of a state[1]. In other words, the studied school shape and the syntax of the structuring elements that define it originate a *grammar* that, in the case of the hegemonic school shape tends to be seen as a *normative grammar*. However, it is possible to imagine this particular grammar of this particular 'language' as an element of a broader *comparative grammar* which highlights school shapes of social relations with different morphologies and with syntaxes of pedagogical intervention integrated within these school shapes. The school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* contributes to demonstrating the existence of this variation in morphology and syntax suggesting the constitution of one among other *grammars of practices*.

When analysing the difficulties of what they consider to be an outdated (American) school system, Tyack and Cuban (1997, p. 134) state that they do not believe in what they call the *"educational Phoenix"*, to identify re-foundations, rising from the ashes of the existing system. They argue that the evolution of the school is part of a slow historical process based on the reflected effort of practitioners who work in schools and the contributions of parents and citizens who support and criticise public education. For the authors, practitioners, knowledgeable of what goes on in schools, know that teacher-proof instruction is an absurdity of the order of student-proof learning. They advocate constant dialogue to *"move towards Utopia"*.

Dialogue at school means thinking about power and authority at school. Among the invariant characteristics of school shapes, Vincent *et al.* (1994) refer to one, I have

[1] In Portuguese schooling (the act of doing) is often translated by school (interpreted as *locus* for schooled learning as wel as the *act of providing* schooled learning)

already had the opportunity to mention: [school shapes are] shapes of social relations, in a particular place, and based on objectification and codification, allow the learning of different ways to manage power.

In the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, learning to exercise power consists in learning how to negotiate cooperation, based on criteria and choices of all those involved. This negotiation calls for a pedagogical relationship and at the same time, makes it possible to reflect on the very instituting of the group, its rules and its internal conduct but also its relation to the outside,. This requires a socio-centred approach whereby the pedagogy of the criterion of choice, as presented by Úcar (2011; 2012), enriches critical pedagogy.

The actors and authors of the various classes, whose testimonies I heard, show at various times it is difficult to maintain coherence, in the school shape that they develop together at the invitation of the teachers. It is not always possible for them to have, in the microcosm, a horizontal organisation of power, when the hierarchical view, related to the societal organisation in which the school is inscribed, remains close at hand. Even if coherently abandoned in favour of a horizontal relationship in which each one participates based on their set of knowledge, and where the adult actively develops a posture of educator-mediator, there are moments of tension.

However, the syntax proper to a *praxis* inscribed in the pedagogical communication paradigm underlying the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda provides children, co-authors of that same shape, with instruments of analysis to facilitate its interpretation. By extension, it also allows them to interpret another syntax they encounter when they continue their school life. There are those who, during their journey, after *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, question the shape they run in. There are those who even question themselves about subjection, when they discover that the concept of assessment transformed from the evaluation of a work, a product, towards a hierarchically expressed judgment, through an assigned grade; that queuing up at the door of the room does not derive from a practical need, or from a citizen courtesy, but it constitutes the answer to an unquestionable direct order. In some situations, the social relations that derive from the insufficiencies found in other variants of school shape, namely in the hegemonic school shape, causes conflict or discomfort. This uneasiness is, by some, attributed to the little attention given to the fact that whoever was in the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, will inevitably get to know another school shape of social relations. On the other hand, only those who, living in educated societies, and being at what is known as school age, have social relationships in more than one school shape variant, are able to discuss them and perceive their respective internal coherence or lack of coherence, giving rise to possible insufficiencies.

The shape of the interactive cultural space-time

In the suggested *continuum* of school shapes[2], the relation with power and the relation or connection established with knowledge are variable.

In the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*'s working space-time, power passes through negotiation between subjects who become authors of their space, their rules, their work. Children and adults jointly determine how their space of social relations relates to other practices of social relations and how they will develop their work projects, outlining a learning process through production. Úcar (2011, p. 37) evokes Paulo Freire saying we learn from him that nothing was written and everything remains to be written. To do so, we have to start from who we are and where we are, to arrive at what we want to be and where we want to be.

We can obviously place this statement at the level of an adult in a schooled society, with assigned teacher functions, and remember what the interviewed teachers of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* told about the joint work that requires reflections and reorganisations in the way they develop their school activity with the children they work with. What they testimony is very much in line with the testimonies collected by Pedro Gonzalez (2002) during his research on the Movement of the Modern School of Portugal. However, when we place that statement on the level of children asserting themselves little by little, developing their identity, from their interaction with the world, we realise the interest of the space-time that is provided in the school of Ajuda. I call on the words of Charlot (1997, p. 84) who, when speaking of the different ways of connection to knowledge, evokes the *identity dimension* of the relationship to knowledge. For the author, the act of learning makes sense, in relation to the subject's history, with what the subjects expect, with their references, their conception of life, their involvement with others, in relation also to the image they have of themselves and what they want to give to others.

This identity dimension is not possible when no relation is established with the other. The other is present, with knowledge that differs from proper knowledge.

In the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, the other shows how to make a newspaper, how to develop a work project, how to search for information, how to prepare to speak with those who visit the group, how to talk to other "others", those who cross paths with those who collectively leave the school grounds to get involved, through other shapes of social relations, with those who live and know about life in the camp site, with the correspondents who know about the city where they live. Here too, it is about the encounter with the knowledge and experience of the other.

To situate themselves, to choose what they will do and how they will do it, the subjects need interaction with the other, questioning the other. The own clarification, in

[2] See Volume I *Contributions for a welcoming school*

order to be able to make a judicious selection of what to do next, depends on this interaction. As Úcar (2012, p. 71) suggests the ultimate objective is one to construct oneself as a subjects, the objective is to construct oneself as a subject, which requires the capacity for criteria and selection.

The interactive space-time facilitates "self-construction" or self-training, because in it is there is the essential support of the group. In a similar way to the professional adults the children find themselves through self-training in cooperation.

For cooperation to take place in the interactive space-time it must be obligatorily a space for negotiation. In the period under analysis The *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* presents itself as a place for pedagogical discussion about learning and not as a space for the bureaucratic-hierarchical organisation of education, at the behest of an external hierarchy. Teachers evoke their meetings as moments of reflection depending on the children they work with, they also evoke the constant sharing of knowledge, as well as the development of projects in which children from different classes participate, in a stable group environment, which guarantees the instituting intervention without recourse to delegations.

Charlot (1997, p. 80 et.seq.) considers the epistemic dimension of the connection to knowledge consists in the appropriation of a virtual object, knowledge which is in objects, in places and in the heads of others. In this epistemic dimension, learning consists of moving from non-possession to possession of object-knowledge, which is only possible through the development of a language, which, for Lahire, is written language, so that knowledge can be externalised from any subject. This exterior object-knowledge is not appropriated all at once.

In the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* and in classes with a more pronounced influence from institutional pedagogy, the colour belts have the function of situating each one in their learning in relation to different subject-knowledge, and should also allow finding the partner, the mediator or the tutor among all the elements of the group, who will facilitate new learning. However, some testimonies show that the use of belts even having competence as a criterion and not an assigned grade by the teacher, continues to provoke a certain comparison among peers, more than individual appropriation.

The graduation of learning closely follows the part of the individual organisation of work, for which the work plan, in the current period, sometimes tends towards an work plan for the individual and at other times towards the individual work plan connected to the others, that is, there is an oscillation between programming that facilitates differentiated and individual training or collective work in which everyone has their tasks planned. In this regard, Sérgio Niza evokes several proposals that were part of the initial reflections in the pedagogical debates that preceded the debates within the MEM:

"*These modalities of planning school work that I recall here, and especially the*

> *Dalton Plan, were widely debated in the early days of the Soviet Union and inspired school life plans, as we know from Pistrak, in* Les problèmes fondamentaux de l'école du travail.*" (2012, p. 436).*

Ending this discussion another one arises. Admittedly social and cultural, the work consists of evolving towards *a* school that values collective productions, the *authentic cultural works* of Filomena Serralha (2009, p. 26).

At the school in Ajuda, an attempt is made to reduce the pressure of individualised work based on worksheets, formulating work plans that oblige the children that Julieta Lopes referred to as "sheet-takers" or "card-eaters" choose more stimulating intellectual tasks.

In an appreciation of the relation with learning more than with knowledge, Charlot (1997) considers that another aspect of the epistemic dimension of this relation has to do with the control of an activity. The child learns to control the object, thus allowing it to perform a certain task. Mediation is again important here, because it facilitates appropriation. In the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, this mediation is not focused on the teacher-student hierarchical relationship, but is presented as a collective demand. Mutual help regulated in the individual work plan is spoken about. Mediation is contracted, not necessarily always reciprocal but it allows everyone to act as a mediator or request mediation depending on the skills and individual knowledge of each subject in the group.

Finally, Charlot evokes learning, no longer to control an activity or an object of knowledge, but to control a relation. Not just a relation, but relations of various kinds: it can be a relation from oneself to oneself, between oneself and others, or even the relation with oneself through the relation with others and vice versa.

In the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* school shape of social relations, the council occupies an important place, not only to regulate the learning work in relation to the object-knowledge and activities, but also to learn this complex network of relations. The weekly meeting is based on reading the class diary, a precise concept for Sérgio Niza

> " *What Freinet called the Wall Journal, I now call the Class Diary (other comrades of the Portuguese Modern School also call it the Wall Diary). It means that it is more like a memo to me than a periodical"* (1991, p. 27).

As the author explains, in this diary children have the right to write down everything they want to discuss, including matters between two people, and that at least one of the two wants to see discussed with everyone. Based on these issues, often written in the column *"I don't like"* or *"We do not like"* the group evolves each element that constitutes and establishes it, in its moral decisions in a context of democratic socialisation as demonstrated by Filomena Serralha (2001).

The functioning of the interactive space-time is regulated by the instituting group.

With an organisation of those responsible for a day evolving towards members of day teams, who are in charge of the responsibilities and tasks that the group has delegated to them, bureaucratic management is reduced to what is necessary for the proper functioning of activities. Monitoring instruments differ from group to group and differ over time, not jeopardising the structuring elements of the pedagogical proposal: the management is off-centred from the teacher, autonomous work is self-regulated, work projects constitute the structuring activity for the whole group or for groups of individuals, communication inside and outside the classroom is guaranteed and part of the study time takes place outside the classroom-place, meeting information not only through written knowledge at school, but also outside the walls.

In the microcosmos constituted by the stable group — the children and the adult with generalist teacher functions — there is room for guests and assistants. This microcosmos views power relations on a horizontal plane.

Once is assumed the teachers' commitment to share management with the class the matter is no longer questioned. Everyone has information, the curriculum is known by all and all work suggestions go through collective planning. In the period of analysis the council is not yet conceptualised as one highest body, with various moments throughout the week, as currently assumed in the MEM model, but the assembly meeting is completed by moments of planning and collective evaluation of the works carried out.

The weekly meeting agenda, which still has the name of journal is collective, dynamic and public. The class diary contains everything that everyone wants to inscribe, and, in the analysed period, everything is read and discussed, even if, in some contexts, the internal organisation of the class, influenced by the adult, imposes some time limitations on less general matters, when they perpetuate discussions that risk becoming fruitless.

The relations between people is based on shared information. The knowledge that each one has available is recognised, but it is also admitted that there is always possible to verify the veracity of any information or to complete it. At the time, virtual exits were first impossible — because internet did not exist — and later complicated — because connecting to the internet was expensive — and much of the investigation involved real outings or (fix) telephone calls. Even today, the intrinsic need to leave school means at the same time the guarantee that the '*pedagogization*' of cultural and social learning does not oblige to a closure of only school shaped social relations.

Interactions with the world outside the school, and, at the same time, interaction with other social relation practices, are constant, not always with the desired result. The president of the republic does not respond to a letter sent to him, the services of the

airport, customs and some companies do not interact with children who not only ask original questions, but also put them outside the place where they are supposed to be placed. On the other hand, children are welcomed by the Quercus association on several occasions, they are advised to camp on Berlenga Island, when they are only seven or eight years old, they are received in services normally closed to children, as was the case at the meteorological station, they collect information at embassies and are received by burgomasters, mayors, or their representatives.

I turn once more to Charlot, who speaks of the relation with knowledge in the sense of interaction when considering the subject (Mead's *'soi'*), the other (Mead's *'autrui'*) and the world. The author recalls **"***The world is the one in which the child lives, an unequal world, structured by social relations"*[3] (1997, p. 86) and states that there is only a subject when there is a subject in the world and in relation with the other. But there is only the world and the other that was already there, pre-existing to the subject.

The epistemic, identity and social relation with knowledge is established by learning to use the world. In the pedagogical proposal that sustains the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, this learning takes place through production, which is rare. It is rare because, as Sérgio Niza tells us, the common school variant which does not relate to the world, only promote preconfigured learning, so that later, one day, those who learned, can (re)produce.

This observation leads to the last of the five characteristic elements of the school shape of social relations Vincent *et al.* (1994) define: the school shape of social relations is the constitutive social form of a scriptural school relation with language and the world. This scriptural-school relation is visible in the didactic artefacts used at school, which tend to make what is socially meaningful outside of school uninteresting and artificial in the school.

The school of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* oscillates at certain times between the scriptural-school relation with the world determined by school objects, and the relation with the world with a regulated but direct entry into it whenever it shifts the interactive space-time to outside the walls of the school and extends the interactivity to other practices of social relations outside the school ones.

It is not very clear how the usefulness of the introduction of school instruments in the pedagogical scenario is evaluated. The structuring materials for mathematics that are used (Cuisenaire rods, Papy's mini calculator and LOGO language) are presented as a resource and not as an object of study in itself. On the other hand, some of the work projects in some classes, especially when it comes to the LOGO language, only happen because the instrument was introduced. The rapid succession of versions and the intensive study it requires, in order to avoid being locked into routine

[3] Translated from French .

exercises, made it difficult, even at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda*, to maintain the use of the program. Notwithstanding the importance attributed to it by those who worked with the program until the beginning of the 1990s, it is inserted in the memories as an enhancer, to carry out work projects, such as camps or study projects.

The essence of work in the interactive cultural space-time that constitutes a class at *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* does not stem from the school-scriptural relation with language and the world itself, but from the ability to mobilise available resources, go to meet them, whenever possible or desired, to later, in the place of recollection, produce authentic works which started from the questioning and the relation established with the world outside the school.

As we had the opportunity to see, learning takes place through the production of authentic works. The work takes on meaning for the simple fact that, as one of the former students Sheila Castro observed at a certain point, at that school, you can work. She said so when she explained why she liked this school experience and not the one she had in the school before coming to Ajuda. Regarding the meaning of production, it is also worth remembering another observation, made by her schoolmate Rita Silves who remembers how, as a child, she and her colleagues had the responsibility of organising the study they were going to develop, giving shape to something of unique.

The produced works are exemplified by the set of documents available in the school's library and reporting in a completely original way the learning resulting from correspondence or from the camps. In everything the school proposes, the local component of the curriculum is inscribed. However, the interpretation of local is thus it has to be broaden whenever possible *in loco* with the local component of other realities, through school correspondence and camps.

In constant evolution

Throughout the previous pages, it became clear that the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* largely resorts to the pedagogical assumptions of the MEM. The pedagogical model of this association is based on a well-defined syntax[4] that organises the different modules that constitute it.

The pedagogical proposal underlying the school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* easily uses the same syntax. What is different in some respects is the content of the various modules. That is, as in the model of the aforementioned movement, the syntax of Voz do Operário da Ajuda in 1982-1999 presents four blocks interconnected by a central block. In 2012, it diverges from this model, not only due

[4] See the webpage of the Movement of the Modern School of Portugal at https://www.escolamoderna.pt/modelo-pedagogico/ See also Volume I.

to the distance in time, but also due to the natural differentiation that the heterogeneity between schools causes[5].

In general terms, the syntax underlying the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda in the analysed period is as follows:

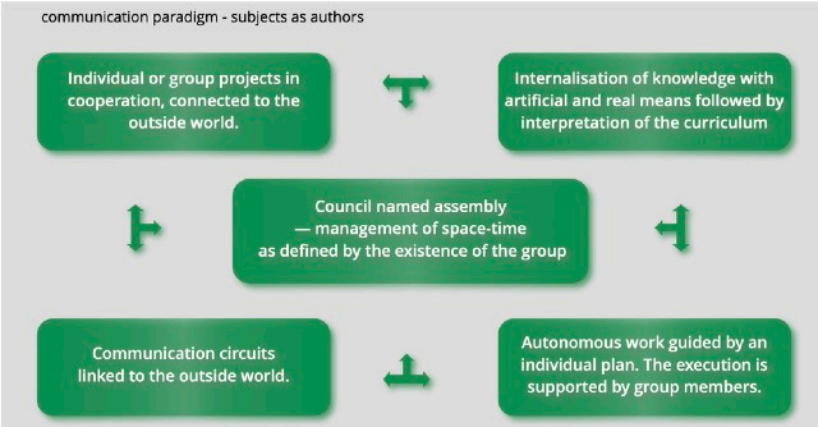
communication paradigm - subjects as authors
Individual or group projects in cooperation, connected to the outside world.
Internalisation of knowledge with artificial and real means followed by interpretation of the curriculum
Council named assembly — management of space-time as defined by the existence of the group
Communication circuits linked to the outside world.
Autonomous work guided by an individual plan. The execution is supported by group members.

Table 4: Syntax praxis Voz do Operário da Ajuda for the period under investigation (1986 -1995)

The action takes place in space-time, defined by the instituting group that constitutes it, allowing the elaboration of mediated learning paths. This space-time is located both within the *Voz do Operário school* and in the workplaces that the group chooses to develop their learning work.

The interactive cultural space-time seeks to facilitate the relation with places, contexts and the environment that surrounds these places. The space-time exists because the group that instituted it exists and presents a school shape of social relations with a specific interpretation of power and authority. Doing so, the group connects the school to the world through multiple relation that it establishes with those who do not belong to the school world, but who hold the necessary information for the production of original cultural works, which allows each of its elements to appropriate knowledge needed to construct their intelligible view of the world. By developing its interactive space-time, the group tries to break with dichotomous pedagogical models and seeks to develop a more comprehensive way of working. With Xavier Úcar (2012, p. 71) I can say that this model, more complete than just of oppression or criticism, is one of personal and community self-construction.

[5] One of the developments has to do with school training, sometimes referred to when talking about learning the multiplication table, or certain aspects of the curriculum for studying the environment.

The places the group makes its space-time thus become, all of them places of learning: the playground, the fig tree canopy, the camps, including those organised by fathers and mothers, the contexts of correspondents or throughout Lisbon, visited with the support of the Voz do Operário group of pensioners.

The albums are original products and result from interaction with knowledge through schooling based on experimentation with power that makes it possible to learn to relate information, knowledge and science, individually and in interaction.

The school shape of *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* is characterised by being a shape in permanent renegotiation due to the reflection of those involved, ensuring the maximum learning of each one. Adults and children discuss how to organise themselves for the work they jointly develop the instruments they need, adapting them when they consider it necessary to do so.

Adults with the function of teachers organise themselves at school and in their groups to which they belong, discussing their way of acting with children, among professionals. This double reflection, which gives rise to a dynamic model, corresponds to the questioning that Jean Oury (1999) finds in institutional pedagogy:

> "*Institutional pedagogy is a non-closed set of possible answers to questions that, even if not verbalised, are asked daily by everyone who makes education and learning their job. It is not a method... It is characterised as much by the questions it writes as by the answers it elaborates .*"[6]

In its form, the Voz do Operário school meets the statement of Sérgio Niza, when he says:

> "*I'm talking about another cultural institution, capable of living democracy directly, in the shared action of students with their teachers and with the active participation of their communities of origin. Because another school is possible.*" (2012, p. 527).

The school shape variant of social relations analysed in this case study integrates the *continuum* presented in volume I of *The school shape: the subject between object and author. Contributions for a welcoming school* more specifically in the family of school shapes of social relations between subject-authors.

In that first volume, the necessary ingredients are presented to develop specific syntaxes for specific school shapes and thus evolve from a *normative grammar* of one of the school shapes associated with a specific organisation to a *comparative grammar of learning at school* with specific shapes and organisations that originate the welcoming school.

The study of the *Voz do Operário da Ajuda* reveals a school that is part of a group of welcoming schools. There are others, documented or yet to be documented.

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6 Translated from French .

It also reveals that it is false, in the Popperian sense, that school has a single organisation based on a normative grammar to which a single school shape of social relations is associated. The invariant characteristics of school shape and school organisation when reformulated, show the non-sustainability of the idea of an immutable defined and finished school, but on the contrary, it reveals a wide diversity of school structures.

The very diversity of schools in their shape and organisation is in itself convivial, when in the search for the adequacy of a structure that allows interaction between people around the cultural heritage of humanity and the construction of new culture and knowledge from this interaction.

The regeneration of existing structures and the gestation of new structures that contribute most to the human adventure make obsolete structures trapped in conservatism that insists on not letting evolve what no longer serves, as a result of an excessive nostalgia for the past. That is why, in terms of ideas, the school shape of social relations with subject-objects probably has no future.

It is in this sense I hope that working around a *comparative grammar of learning at school* can contribute for writing the school of the future. The case study of Voz do Operário da Ajuda may perhaps have contributed for doing so.

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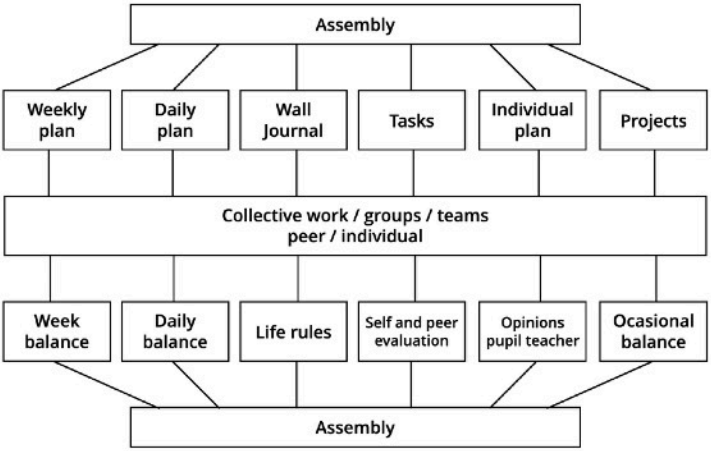
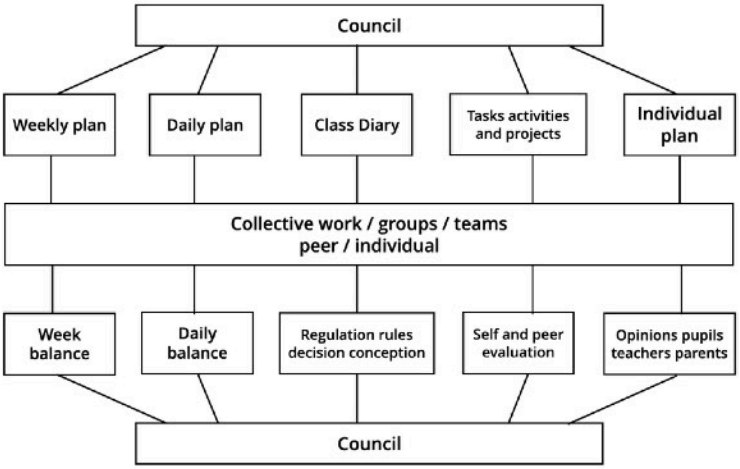
Attachments

Annex 1: Evolution from assembly to council in MEM



Scheme 1: Xarepe, Odete (1991: 10). Assembly



Scheme 2: Serralha, Pinto, Pereira, Felício e Niza (1992: 79) Class Council Functions

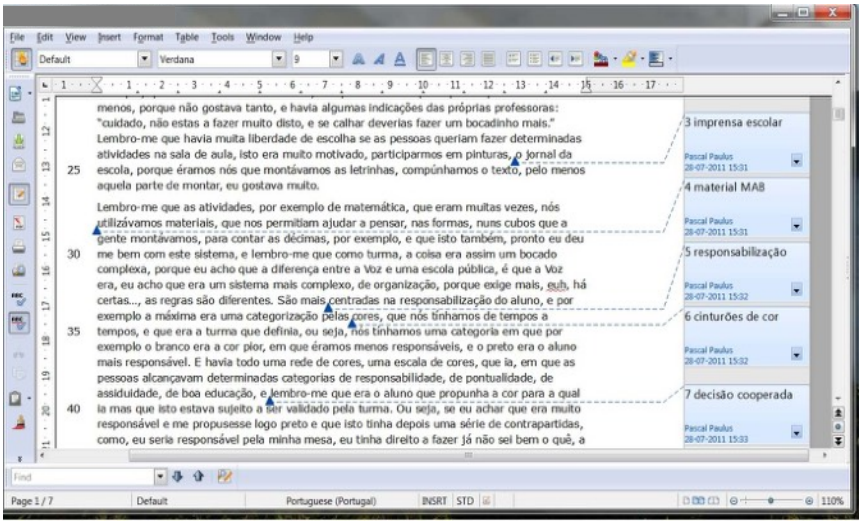
Annex 2: Charts and Tables.

Chart 1: Summary of data for the case study

School year / classes	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	Ot.	Tot
86 – 87 (out of 4 classes)	JL								2
87 – 88 (out of 4 classes)	JL	CR							3
88 – 89 (out of 4 classes)		CR							3
89 – 90 (out of 4 classes)			PP						2
90 – 91 (out of 4 classes)			PP	DA					3
91 – 92 (out of 4 classes)				DA		PP			3
92 – 93 (of 3 classes)					JL	DA/JL			2
93 – 94 (of 3 classes)					JL	DA/JL			2
94 – 95 (of 2 classes)						DA/JL			1
95 – 96 (of 2 classes)							JL		1
	T1	T2	T3	T4	T5	T6	T7	Ot.	Tot
Memories of being a child	1	3	7	1	4	2	3		21
Memories of who was an adult	1	1	1	1	1	2	1		*(3)*
Pascal Paulus documentary collection			181			194			375
VO-Ajuda documentary collection	16	2	5	1	9	2	6	24	66
Photographs (1 or more classes)	0	16	110	74	36	125	15		*(353)*
videos _ _		1	6	4	6	6	6	3	*(23)*
minutes of video (1 or more classes)	0	12	264	83	384	465	207		

Notes:
numbers in italics and in brackets: total less than the absolute total, due to situations that cover more than one class (7 classes of 3 teachers interviewed –
354 photographs of 377 situations represented).
Grey case: classes where the memories come from – initials of the interviewed teachers, at a given time class holders of the classes where the interviewed students come from

Table 2: Example of interview labeling


File Edit View Insert Format Table Tools Window Help
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menos, porque não gostava tanto, e havia algumas indicações das próprias professoras: "cuidado, não estas a fazer muito disto, e se calhar deverias fazer um bocadinho mais." Lembro-me que havia muita liberdade de escolha se as pessoas queriam fazer determinadas atividades na sala de aula, isto era muito motivado, participarmos em pinturas, o jornal da escola, porque éramos nós que montávamos as letrinhas, compúnhamos o texto, pelo menos aquela parte de montar, eu gostava muito.
Lembro-me que as atividades, por exemplo de matemática, que eram muitas vezes, nós utilizávamos materiais, que nos permitiam ajudar a pensar, nas formas, nuns cubos que a gente montávamos, para contar as décimas, por exemplo, e que isto também, pronto eu dei me bem com este sistema, e lembro-me que como turma, a coisa era assim um bocado complexa, porque eu acho que a diferença entre a Voz e uma escola pública, é que a Voz era, eu acho que era um sistema mais complexo, de organização, porque exige mais, euh, há certas..., as regras são diferentes. São mais centradas na responsabilização do aluno, e por exemplo a máxima era uma categorização pelas cores, que nós tínhamos de tempos a tempos, e que era a turma que definia, ou seja, nós tínhamos uma categoria em que por exemplo o branco era a cor pior, em que éramos menos responsáveis, e o preto era o aluno mais responsável. E havia todo uma rede de cores, uma escala de cores, que ia, em que as pessoas alcançavam determinadas categorias de responsabilidade, de pontualidade, de assiduidade, de boa educação, e lembro-me que era o aluno que propunha a cor para a qual ia mas que isto estava sujeito a ser validado pela turma. Ou seja, se eu achar que era muito responsável e me propusesse logo preto e que isto tinha depois uma série de contrapartidas, como, eu seria responsável pela minha mesa, eu tinha direito a fazer já não sei bem o quê, a
3 imprensa escolar
Pascal Paulus 28-07-2011 15:31
4 material MAB
Pascal Paulus 28-07-2011 15:31
5 responsabilização
Pascal Paulus 28-07-2011 15:32
6 cinturões de cor
Pascal Paulus 28-07-2011 15:32
7 decisão cooperada
Pascal Paulus 28-07-2011 15:33
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Table 3: Categorisation of keywords emerging from the analysed information

Category	Subcategory	Key words			
school shape	school	after VO	family school	Fig tree	playground
		classical school	not normal school	fig tree accident	
		welcoming school	physical space	relative gaps	
	didactic means	computer	cards and sheets	MAB material	painting
		computer logo	story time	mini calculator	
		cuisenaire and mab	press	room organisation	
	method	group activity	method # profs	collective work	class work
		method	options # profs	group work	homework
	school rituals	lunch	confr. rit school	festivities	org. school
		after school activity	kitchen cook	magusto	routines
		classes	resume	magusto (org.)	without homework
		van	physical education	music	job sale
		basement	diploma delivering	there were no classes	

Table 3: Categorisation of keywords emerging from the analysed information

Category	Subcategory	Key words			
relation with power	power	day team	accountability	responsible	teacher veto
		responsibility			
	regulation	assembly	group decision	organisation work	punishment
		evaluation	decision by consensus	class room wall	rules
		plan evaluation	decide. cooperated	planning 1	elaboration rules
		prof evaluation	wall newspaper	planning 2	colour belt table
		colour belts	org work records	plan of the day	
		conflicts	organisation of the day	ind plan work	
	relation with people	marta's story	first day	rel. with auxiliaries	rel. between parents
		friends	teacher (relationship)	rel. with the parents	be person
		cooperation	teachers	rel. between children	work in cooperation
		teacher imitation	individual relation teacher		
	relation with power	Relation with the power			

Table 3: Categorisation of keywords emerging from the analysed information

Category	Subcategory	Key words			
relation towards knowledge	appropriation of the environment	camping	dog	correspondents	
		home school traject	build social reality	outdoor visits	
	studies	April 25	animals	studies	
	writing and reading	learn to read	develop. writing	class newspaper	texts
		notebook texts	writing - letter	free text	text work
	relationship with learning	apprenticeships	autonomy (limit)	guests	rel. learning
		autonomy	citizenship	news	critical sense

Table 4. Subgroup 1 – Interviewees (former students)

In.	in VOA	At the time of the interview (2009-2010)
CB	From 1987 to 1991	Doctor in medicine; works in Almada and specialises in family therapy
CF	From 1987 to 1992	Degree in visual arts ; works as a music teacher in the MUSE project
CG	From 1989 to 1995	Degree in Portuguese Literature; works in a publisher directed to the Palop
CG	From 1992 to 1999	Civil Engineering Student – UCL
DG	From 1987 to 1991	Student civil engineering; works as a musician
GO	From 1991 to 1994	Professional design course – worker-student in London in the area of design
IP	From 1985 to 1989	Degree in Anthropology; freelancer ethnographic documentaries
IQ	From 1987 to 1991	Master's degree in marine biology; student worker
JC	From 1985 to 1989	Degree in agronomic engineering ; works for a company that develops hydraulic projects , basic sanitation and water management
JP	From 1984 to 1989	Bachelor of Arts; hired teacher and curriculum enrichment activities
MA	From 1990 to 1995	Student worker; 3rd year of psychology – ethology
MC	From 1985 to 1989	Degree in architecture; awaits professional internship
ML	From 1992 to 1999	UL Architecture Student – Help
NF	From 1982 to 1988	Degree in Basic Education ; 1st cycle teacher in public education
RA	From 1991 to 1996	10th special education – informatics ; _ he works three afternoons a week for his brother's company .
RB	From 1987 to 1991	Degree in geography and regional planning; cartographer for a company

Table 4. Subgroup 1 – Interviewees (former students)

In.	in VOA	At the time of the interview (2009-2010)
RS	From 1992 to 1999	Biology Student FC-UL
SB	From 1987 to 1991	12th and commercial courses; jewelery manager
SC	From 1990 to 1991	Degree in Portuguese heritage and decorative arts; looking for work
TD	From 1990 to 1995	Degree in Forestry Engineering; in academic internship is mico
TR	From 1987 to 1991	9th year and certified in computing by Microsoft; computer consultant for a small pharmaceutical company

Table 5: Subgroup 2 – interviewees (teachers

Name and Connection with the VOA school		At the time of the interview
Dora Augustinho	Teacher since 1990	Teacher at Voz do Oper ário da Ajuda
Julieta Lopes	Teacher between 1985 and 2001	Retired
Clarisse Rosa	Teacher between 1984 and 1989	Special Education Teacher in Public Education

Table 6: Preliminary study of documentation — photographs (extract)

photo ID	descrip-tion	type	space - time	relation to knowledge	power relation	school shape
voa8889001	informati-on wall	river scenery	definitions, internal information	records of work perfor-med	explanation of the attribution of colors; tasks; room laws	
voa8889002	two children table computer	class work	diversified use of space	writing or rewriting a text		the children are doing work in a space / corner of the room.
voa8889003	repeat previous photo	class work				
voa8889004	group of children around a table	class work	use of space _ _	collective work? School work? On the wall, next to the board, grammatical information	on the board, the day's plan refers to "assessment " , "assembly", spelling	children around a table, like a work group . At 90 degree angle to the frame
voa8889005	two children in a painting space	class work	diversified use of space.	in the space itself, there is an exhibition of painting works carried out.		two children are painting
voa8889006	February 24, 1989. Class	house-keeping	diversified use of space			
voa8889007	Table with cutlery and plates - group of children	house-keeping	diversified use of space			Conversation between child-ren in the classroom One is dressing the table.

Table 6: Preliminary study of documentation — photographs (extract)

photo ID	description	type	space - time	relation to knowledge	power relation	school shape
voa8889008	Circle group - meeting	assembly	3 children in front of a table; adult next door	One of the children is reading , one is writing , the third is looking at the group. In the circle there are children with sheets in their hands that appear to be individual work plans	The photograph seems to present the Assembly (or the evaluation ?), announced in the daily plan , written on the board.	
voa8889009	group around the table - food	setting	Two adults at the table, 5 visible children (8 in all). Table with basket in front of the painting	wall: square meter in drawings	someone else is distributing water . _ Come and talk	

Table 7: Discursive flow interview 01 to 06 (sample procedure for all interviewees)

flow	01	02	03	04	05	06
1st place	assembly	colour belts	method deviant	PIT	friends	room organisation
2nd place	rules	sheets and files	Report with teacher	responsibility	teachers	family school
3rd place	playground	comp and Logo	imitation teacher	press	living room	responsibilit y
4th place	comp and soon	guitar prof.	FIG tree	MAB material	parties	playground
5th place	mini calculator	colour belts	responsibilit y	accountability	camping	FIG tree
6th place	cards and sheets	basement	there were no tests	colour belts	conflicts	camping
7th place	planning	FIG tree	cards and sheets	decisions cooper	dog	relationship with parents
8th place	evaluation	fig tree accident	responsibilit y	group decision	text	develop writing
9th place	studies	school n. normal	PIT	wall newspaper	play-ground	comp. and soon
10th place	camping	org. work	evaluation	punishment	FIG tree	method # profs
11th place	music	cuisenaire and mab	planning	assembly	Van	studies
12th place	basement	lego computer	responsibilit y	decision to consensus	method	after school time
13th place	physical education	studies	prof 's review	teacher veto	cuisine	basement
14th place	camping	correspond ents	outings	colour belts	textbook	parties
15th place	org work	studies	studies	rules	music	music
16th place	conflicts	there were no classes	camping	rules (elab)	gymnastic s	April 25

Table 7: Discursive flow interview 01 to 06 (sample procedure for all interviewees)

flow	01	02	03	04	05	06
17th place	FIG tree	room organisation	org work	colour belts	music	guests
18th place	PIT	conflicts	camping	sheets and files	Van	relationship with parents
19th place	after VO	correspond ence	assembly	texts	living room wall	Van
20th place		studies	guests	studies	after VO	parties
21st place			magusto	family school	cook	relationship parents
22nd place			options for profes	wall newspaper	after VO	lunch
23rd place			family school	class newspaper	future dreams	work in the room
24th place			entry diplomas	relative gaps	conflicts	room organisation
25th place			basement	apprenticeshi ps	friends	reading corner
26th place			critical sense	reflection	camping	apprentices hips
27th place			April 25	outings		conflicts
28th place			computer	physical education		computer
29th place			room organisation	camping		writing notebook
30th place			camping	music		org work
31st place			family school	playground		comp and soon
32nd place			apprentices hips	FIG tree		wall newspaper

Table 7: Discursive flow interview 01 to 06 (sample procedure for all interviewees)

flow	01	02	03	04	05	06
33rd place				basement		assembly
34th place				lunch		responsibilit y

Table 8: Document: SALADEAULA02 (sample extract) — identified moments: 78

time	theme	keyword	observations
00:00:00	records	org work	t5 t6 - March 1994
00:00:00	records	planning	Day 1
00:00:00	records	organisation of the day	
00:00:30	evaluation sheets ?	evaluation	
00:00:58	H. with a solid	school organisation	helena integration _
00:01:21	H. with a solid	evaluation	
00:02:19	individual or group work around faces and edges	group work	
00:02:19	individual or group work around faces and edges	classes	
00:03:39	individual or group work around faces and edges	cooperative work _	
00:04:43	systematisation	classes	
00:05:10	position J. in the chair	family school	
00:06:12	box of texts	text work	
00:06:25	note kindergarten	school organisation _	
00:07:05	studio is only	painting	(painting and expressions)
00:07:47	tagged room library	room organisation _	
00:08:06	material produced (tapestry , painting, carpentry, ...)	painting	(painting and expressions)

Table 8: Document: SALADEAULA02 (sample extract)		identified moments: 78	
time	theme	keyword	observations
00:08:45	writing a text	work in the room	
00:09:00	diversified work,	work in the room	
continued			
00:21:49	text work - student gives the word	relationship with power	
	text reading - reader reads it automatically correcting errors, Julieta resumes, showing how it is written	text work	text written on a backdrop paper next to the frame
00:24:50	proposals about the text - (characterizations of the characters)	classes	
00:29:43	alternatives to the text	classes	what school shape?
00:30:17	plan cutting - request for the design (of the text?) by the end of the week	relationship with teacher	

Table 9: description of documents (sample extract)

#	file is	date	year	class	description
001	alb	24-04-91	1991	T3	album correspondence and travel Lisbon – Leuven and Leuven Lisbon
002	alb	15-12-91	1991	T3	Portel indoor camp and exploration album
003	alb	12-20-91	1991	T6	our first medical record
004	00A	10-02-91	1991	T6	experimental writing for " read and show " (news)
continued _ _					
449	07	22-04-91	1991	T3	Book bus via Jorge Gama agency
450	07	09-05-91	1991	T3	welcome poster
451	07	20-02-90	1991	T3	Survey of corporate donations
452		1995	1995	T7	The dog the cat the mice and the bird 1st grade
453		1995	1995	Tx	Showers and thunderstorms -3/4 year
454		1995	1995	T5 T6	After the fig tree was cut down, a lot happened ...
455		2001	2001	Tx	It was possible to dream the impossible (last Juliet class)
456		1992	1992	Tx	hamsters
457		99	nineteen ninety	Tx	Stories (1)
458		1991	1991	Tx	Stories (2)
459		86-87(?)	1986	T1T2	Stories (3)

Table 9: description of documents (sample extract)

#	file is	date	year	class	description
460		no date		Tx	small stories _
continued _ _					
512		1995	1995	T7	The Seraphim (Class Journal)
513		1988	1988	T1	the Tagus
514		1992	1992	T5	The glass
515		1993	1993	T6	The planet is not a person
516		no date		Tx	We made wine as it is river
517		1988	1988	T2	3rd year texts (notebook

Table 10: example of keyword frequency identification (# = number weight)

former students	#	former teachers	#	filmed documents	#
114 keywords	Total 21	075 keywords	Tot 3	088 keywords	23 movies
camps	17	camps	3	relationship with learning	14
FIG tree	17	apprenticeships	3	school organisation _	14
playground	16	assembly	3	work organisation _	14
after VO	15	conflicts	3	cooperative work _	13
studies	15	resume _ _	3	studies	12
assembly	14	group decisions _	3	relationship with parents	11
sheets and files	14	not normal school	3	relationship with power	10
basement	13	physical space	3	Class organisation	10
work organisation _	13	studies (projects)	3	text work	9
apprenticeships	12	cards and files	3	family school	9
room organisation _	12	fig tree	3	collective work	9
planning	12	wall newspaper	3	teacher (relationship -)	8
individual work plan	12	method	3	responsible _ _	8
conflicts	11	school organisation	3	playground	8
physical education	11	work organisation _	3	group work	8
method	11	planning _ _	3	classes	7

Table 10: example of keyword frequency identification (# = number weight)

former students	#
correspondents	10
responsibility	10
I left _	10
April 25	9
computer logo	9
parties	9
music _ _	9
teachers	9

former teachers	#
playground	3
relationship with learning	3
relationship with parents	3
I left _	3
text work	3

filmed documents	#
friends	7
guests	7
basement	7
responsibility	6
camping	5
correspondents	4
relationship with assistants	3
magusto	3
animals	3

Pascal Paulus (1957) trained as a primary school teacher in Belgium and received a PhD in Sociology of Education at the Institute of Education of the University of Lisbon, under the supervision of Rui Canário .
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Memories at the Shadow of a Fig Tree is the second volume of *The school shape: subject between object and author* and describes in detail the announced case study in *Contributions for a Welcoming School* presenting a singular school shape. It is a story that emerges from the extensive analysis of the memories of twenty-seven persons who worked, as a child or adult, in the *Voz do Operário* school of the Ajuda district of Lisbon (Portugal) between 1982 and 1999. Hundreds of documents, photos and videos covering the decade 1986-1995 complete the information for this study based on a phenomenological approach.

The first volume gives all the elements to support the hypothesis of a *continuum of school shapes of social relations* and its implication for the evolution of the *grammar of schooling*. In order to study the school shape of social relations, at least three factors are decisive: power, knowledge and pedagogical paradigm.

The case study looking at ten years of the school shape of Voz do Operário da Ajuda falsifies — in the Popperian sense of the term — the model of school shape of invariant learning, relegating to *“alternative to school”* shapes and social relations of learning different from the hegemonic school shape of social relations with subject-objects based on the pedagogical instruction paradigm. It shows a school shape of learning and social relations that occupies another part of the formulated continuum making it possible to hope for a *comparative grammar or learning at school* wherein the welcoming school find its place.